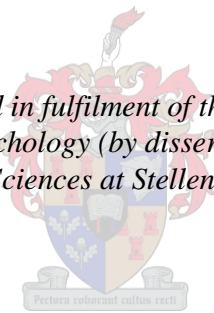


Exploring the Programme-related Experiences of Graduates of a Pilot Preventative Intervention for Adolescent Girls at Risk to Gang Activity in a Peri-Urban Community

by
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*Research thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Psychology (by dissertation) in the Faculty of Arts
and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: Prof. A.V. Naidoo

April 2019

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28 October 2018

DECLARATION

I, Anneke Denobili, hereby declare that I edited the thesis of Susanna Maria Pohl titled, *Exploring the Experiences of Programme Graduates of a Pilot Preventative Intervention for Adolescent Girls at Risk to Gang Activity*, for submission purposes in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master's of Arts in Psychology (by dissertation) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University. All the suggested changes, including the implementation thereof, was left to the discretion of the student.

Sincerely

Anneke Denobili

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I submit this thesis acknowledging that no part of it would have been possible in my own strength.

I thank my Heavenly Father for, as always, being the Beginning and the End to this work.

Furthermore, I would like to give a word of thanks to the people who were involved in shaping not just this study, but also me:

Special thanks go to the Women with Vision and their community, for welcoming me and sharing their stories with me. And to my supervisor, Prof Tony Naidoo, thank you for your guidance and wisdom, for countless drafts read and emails answered from all over the globe, and for your investment in the community.

Thank you to academics who have shaped my outlook on psychology: Dr Pravani Naidoo, for modelling involved and caring kindness and instilling a passion to do the same; and Dr Anthea Lesch, for challenging my thinking and sharpening my critical eye.

A word of appreciation is also due to Usiko Stellenbosch for including me, for partnering with me, and for trusting me with their girls. To Ms Christina Jooste and Ms Imanuella Muller in particular, thank you for handling the many logistical and administrative duties related to the study.

Thank you to Comic Relief, for their investment in the Women with Vision programme, and to the Harry Crossley foundation for rewarding me the scholarship that funded this work.

Thank you to Ms Anneke Denobili, editor extraordinaire.

And last, but by far not least, thank you to the people who have faithfully stuck with me through this project. To my parents, Freddie and Susan Pohl, for their irrevocable support in all areas. To my housemates, for being there through countless complaints and sobering retellings of my newest findings. And to Daniël, for everything.

ABSTRACT

Gangsterism is a perennial problem that negatively affects disadvantaged communities worldwide. This thesis describes how a local non-governmental organization responded to the increasing concern regarding gangsterism and its impact on adolescent girls in a peri-urban Stellenbosch community. It examines formative participant feedback regarding Usiko Stellenbosch's attempts to intervene with vulnerabilities that one group of high school girls face due to high levels of gang activity in their community. The thesis expands on the limited body of psychological and community knowledge regarding girls and gangs. It provides recommendations for interventions aimed at this group and describes how research collaboration with community partners led to empowerment in order to address the problem of gangsterism in the target community.

Being epistemologically rooted in the community psychology paradigm, this study assumed a qualitative, Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR) design. Ecological approaches linked to the theories of Bronfenbrenner and Prilleltensky and Nelson were utilised in making meaning from the participants' feedback regarding their subjective experiences of the Usiko Women with Vision (UWWV) programme. Feedback data constituted of archival recordings of four group processes that had taken place as part of the intervention, and post-programme interviews that were conducted with eight UWWV graduates. ATLAS.ti software was used to conduct a thematic analysis of the data.

Analysis of the data resulted in four themes: (1) Programme impacts and outcomes; (2) Intervention characteristics; (3) Sisterhood; (4) Amelioration of gang risk. These indicated that the UWWV programme effectively contributed to buffering its participants against the gang-related risks embedded in their context. The findings also provided specific directions for further programme development. Core findings included confirmation of gender differences

that are described in the literature pertaining to adolescent gang-involvement, and identification of methods to satisfy gender-specific needs which often pre-empt gang involvement in girls.

OPSOMMING

Bendes is 'n voortslepende probleem wat minderbevoorregte gemeenskappe wêreldwyd benadeel. Hierdie tesis beskryf hoe 'n plaaslike nie-regeringsorganisasie op groeiende kommer rakende bende-bedrywighede en die impak daarvan op adolessente meisies in 'n buite-stedelike gemeenskap na aan Stellenbosch gereageer het. Dit ondersoek die deelnemers se formatiewe terugvoering op Usiko Stellenbosch se pogings om tussenbeide te tree met die kwesbaarhede wat een groep hoërskoolmeisies ervaar vanweë die hoë vlakke van bende-bedrywighede in hulle gemeenskap. Die tesis brei uit op die beperkte beskikbare kennis binne Sielkunde en Gemeenskapsielkunde oor meisies en bendes. Dit verskaf aanbevelings vir intervensies gemik op hierdie groep en beskryf hoe navorsingsamewerking met gemeenskapsvennote hulle bemagtig het om die probleem van bendes in hul midde aan te spreek.

Hierdie studie was epistemologies gegrond in die gemeenskapsielkunde-wêreldsiening en het as sulks 'n kwalitatiewe, gemeenskapsbaseerde, deelnemende navorsing-ontwerp gehad. Ekologiese benaderings, gekoppel aan die teorieë van Bronfenbrenner en Prilleltensky en Nelson, is gebruik om betekenis van deelnemers se terugvoer oor hul subjektiewe ervarings van die Usiko Women with Vision (UWWV) te maak. Terugvoer-data het bestaan uit argief-opnames van vier groepsprosesse wat as deel van die program plaasgevind het, sowel as onderhoude wat met agt UWWV deelnemers gevoer is nadat die program voltooi is. ATLAS.ti sagteware was gebruik om die tematiese analise van die data uit te voer.

Die analise van die data het vier temas opgelewer: (1) Program-impakte en -uitkomstes; (2) Program-eienskappe; (3) Susterskap; (4) Vermindering van bende-verwante risiko. Hierdie temas het aangedui dat die UWWV program bygedra het om deelnemers effektief teen bende-verwante risiko's wat in hul konteks ingebed is, te buffer. Bevindinge het ook spesifieke riglyne vir verdere program-ontwikkeling aangedui. Kernbevindinge het die bevestiging van geslagsverwante verskille verwant aan bende-betrokkenheid onder adolessente wat in die

literatuur beskryf word, ingesluit. Dit het verder ook metodes identifiseer waarop die geslag-spesifieke behoeftes wat dikwels bende-betrokkenheid onder meisies voorloop, aangespreek kan word.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA	American Psychological Association
CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research
GIGI	Girls in Gangs Initiative
G.R.E.A.T.	Gang Resistance Education and Training
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NICRO	South African National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offender
PPCT	Process, Person, Context and Time
SAPS	South African Police Service
SSA	Statistics South Africa
UK	United Kingdom
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UWWS	Usiko Women with Strength
UWWV	Usiko Women with Vision

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At the outer edge are those who don't have any support systems, who go too far, join gangs which carry them beyond the boundaries of social and legal acceptance. It's these we define as young people at risk, but any transformation of their lives requires that we look at what society provides for and requires of ALL adolescents. Between the insiders and the outsiders is not a boundary, but a continuum, along which teenagers are able to move with surprising ease and speed.

(Pinnock, 2016, p. 276)

1.1 Introduction

Gangsterism is a problem affecting many disadvantaged communities worldwide. Although community members of all ages and both genders suffer due to gang activity, the existing literature has highlighted that adolescent girls are at an increased risk (Nydegger, DiFranceisco, Quinn, & Dickson-Gomez, 2017).

Our knowledge regarding gangs stems predominantly from journalism reports and police communication, as research into this phenomenon is inundated with many different ethical and practical challenges. Furthermore, the research already conducted has been almost entirely on males in gangs. In South Africa, empirical investigations into gangsterism have been scarce, with even less focus on the experiences of girls in gangs. The study was thus motivated, firstly, by the clear gap in psychological knowledge on how gangsterism affects and involves females in the local context. Secondly, the study was motivated by the need to intervene with the multiple ways in which adolescent girls are at risk to the effects of gangs in disadvantaged communities.

This thesis thus examines formative participant feedback in a community research project which was undertaken with the aim of exploring participants' experiences of and improving a local intervention programme for adolescent girls at risk to gangsterism in a specific peri-urban community.

I partnered with a Western Cape-based non-governmental organisation (NGO), Usiko Stellenbosch, to investigate the experiences of the 12 girls who formed part of the pilot group of the Usiko Women with Vision (UWWV) intervention programme. An explorative qualitative approach was adopted using in-depth interviews and archival focus group data to explore the benefits that UWWV programme graduates derived from their participation in the programme. The study aimed to generate recommendations for programme development in both the relevant community and the larger arena of applied psychology. This thesis considers the participants' subjective reports, and from this analysis, formulates recommendations for future practice.

This chapter introduces the focus of the study, including the rationale and problem statement. Thereafter, I provide a more detailed description of the aims and objectives of the study, before defining the key terms utilised in this thesis. I also describe the community context of the study and introduce the theoretical foundations that informed the study. Lastly, I give an overview of the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Research Rationale and Problem Statement of the Study

Gangsterism is a pervasive and serious problem in disadvantaged urban contexts across the world (Pinnock, 2016). It is a complex social phenomenon with many cyclical causes and consequences; gangsterism originates from, but also causes poverty, violence, and crime (Bubolz & Simi, 2015). Locally, gangs are prevalent in many historically disadvantaged communities, especially throughout the Western Cape (South African Police Service [SAPS], 2016). As is the case globally, local gangs have deleterious effects for the communities they inhabit, the gang members themselves and those who are directly or indirectly involved (Aldridge, Shute, Ralphs, & Medina, 2011). The impacts of gang activities compromise the health, well-being, and lifespan outcomes of those involved and/or affected (Lenzi et al., 2015).

Multiply vulnerable subgroups, such as adolescent girls, bear the burden of an even greater risk (Nydegger et al., 2017). Considering the specific risk factors and intersections of risk that girls experience, the need for gender-specific interventions is becoming more evident (Hayward & Honegger, 2014). Yet, research on the phenomenon of gangsterism has been almost exclusively focused on male experiences and interventions for men (Sutton, 2017). Little is known about the plight and prospects of women and girls at risk to gang activities, both locally and globally.

This study was deemed necessary in order to address the gap in the psychological knowledge of female gang-involvement and exposure. Specifically, the research focused on the development of interventions to protect adolescent girls who are at risk to gangs, but who are not yet directly involved. Utilising a community psychology approach, the study was also a response to the needs identified by the relevant community (Van Wyk & Naidoo, 2006). It partnered with role players in the community to achieve the shared and individual needs of stakeholders, thus addressing the deficiencies in academic knowledge and practically providing intervention insights to the community-based NGO. Girls at risk were a novel target population for the organisation, thus this study was undertaken to ensure that the programme structure and content is gender-specific and effective in addressing this group's risk to become involved with gangsterism. Research and evaluation were combined to answer the question: What did programme participants gain from their involvement in the UWWV programme that would buffer them against the possible negative effects of gangs?

Findings will contribute to the further development and improvement of the piloted intervention in the specific community and may be used to inform the development of intervention programmes aimed at adolescent girls at risk to gangsterism in the future.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

The primary aim of this study was to explore the experiences of programme graduates of a pilot preventative intervention for adolescent girls at risk to gang activity, and thus contribute to the

development of interventions for girls at risk to gangsterism. Specific objectives pertaining to this aim included conducting a qualitative investigation of participants experiences and providing dialectical feedback to the community role players, as well as disseminating findings to the wider sphere of academics, policy makers, and community leaders.

Subsidiary to this, the study aimed to empower the community through research partnerships that involved local stakeholders and facilitated the mutual sharing of information (Lazarus, Seedat, & Naidoo, 2017). As a community-based participatory research (CBPR) project, conducting the study was not only to further the agenda of science or psychology. It was also an endeavour to address the needs of the community. The objective was to empower community members to contribute to the development and implementation of an intervention programme to address the problem of gangsterism. Empowerment entailed giving them access to scientific understandings of gangsterism, but also acknowledging their knowledge regarding the phenomenon and incorporating this into the research.

Finally, in a broader sense, the research aimed to expand on the limited body of psychological and community knowledge regarding girls and gangs.

1.4 Definition of Key Terms

1.4.1 Adolescence

Adolescence encompasses the transition from childhood to adulthood (Anthonissen, 2011), although definitions of these two life phases are culture and context-specific (Van Wyk, 2015). The experience of adolescence also varies from one adolescent to the other. Therefore, it is not necessarily useful to specify a general age bracket for adolescence. Rather, most authors agree that the adolescent phase starts with physical maturation (i.e., the development of secondary sexual characteristics and menarche for girls), and ends in adulthood, which is culturally defined by the context (Normand, 2007). In South Africa, individuals are legally viewed as adults after their 18th birthday, although, culturally speaking, individuals are often only viewed as “of age” after their 21st birthday (Louw & Louw, 2014).

Adolescence is a transitional phase, which prepares the young individual for the demands and roles of mature adulthood in the given context (Botha, 2007). The transition requires biological, cognitive, emotional, and psychosocial adjustments, which are often difficult and/or disruptive in the life of the adolescent (Finney, 2007; Van Wyk, 2015). According to Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, identity-formation is the key developmental task of the adolescent life phase (Taylor, 2013). This is addressed through exploration, which often translates into risk-taking behaviour (Wegner, Behardien, Loubser, Ryklief, & Smith, 2016). Consideration of these pertinent elements of adolescent development is necessary in investigations into the link between gang-involvement and adolescence, especially since the primary social function of gangs is to provide members with a clear sense of belonging and group identity (Albertse, 2007).

1.4.2 Gangsterism

The dynamic, multi-tiered and elusive nature of gangs makes it almost impossible to draw clear boundaries distinguishing between those who are part of these social groupings from those who are not (Roloff, 2014). According to the leading local authority on Western Cape gangs, Don Pinnock, gangs are present in most poverty-ridden urban boroughs worldwide. Members of these communities undoubtedly know who the gangs and gang members are (Pinnock, 2016). However, there is little agreement amongst social scientists and policy makers regarding how gangs should be defined and identified. No conclusive and encompassing definition has, as of yet, been formulated and accepted by the academic community (Lindberg et al., 2011).

Originally, in his seminal work on gangs, Frederick Thrasher (cited in Pinnock, 2016) defined a gang as:

An interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict. It is characterised by the following types of behaviour: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behaviour is the

development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, *esprit de corps*, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory (p. 91).

Considering this and other definitions of the term “gang” available in the literature (see Buthelezi, 2012; Lindberg et al., 2011; Pinnock, 2016; Regulus, 1995; Roloff, 2014), the basic elements of a gang, common to all such groupings in the modern context, can be reduced to two aspects: (1) organised association/group affiliation, which is (2) centred around common (often criminal) purposes. However, not all forms of deviant collective action constitute gang activities (Vetten, 2000) and such simplistic thinking about this phenomenon risks missing the issues at the core of the gangs’ existence. Albertse (2007) stresses that purposes for gang’s existence are often social, rather than instrumental. Both she and Densley (2012) agree that a formative function of the gang is to provide members with a sense of belonging and a clear sense of identity.

The current study incorporated all these considerations and thus defined gangs using the definition provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). According to this definition, gangs are “relatively durable, predominantly street-based group(s) of young people for whom crime and violence is integral to the group’s identity” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 1). However, this definition is used with a clear understanding that gangs are not self-sustaining, isolated entities. Understanding what the term gang means, implies understanding the context in which the gang exists. Socio-historic and political undertones influencing gang formation and our understandings of gangs, must be considered - especially in South Africa, where gangs are a clearly racialised phenomenon (gang members are predominantly Coloured and, to a lesser degree, Black) and gangsterism has had distinctly political catalysts (arising from race-based segregation as a way to provide for the otherwise frustrated material and social needs of marginalised groups) (Pinnock, 2016).

Another contextual consideration in defining gangs involves delineating their reach. The circumstances of poverty, overcrowding and crime that gave rise to community-based gangs, influence

all those who live in these communities and draws them together. A clear distinction between *inevitable gang contact* and *delinquent gang involvement* is necessary to discern between those at risk and those already involved. But it is difficult to make such a distinction. In gang-saturated communities, complete avoidance of contact with gangs is nearly impossible (Pinnock, 2016). In most cases, individuals come into contact with gangs on a daily basis, albeit indirectly. This form of inevitable contact puts them at risk to the influences and consequences of gang activities, but to a lesser extent than full-fledged and frequent involvement in gang activities would. For the purposes of this study, full-fledged delinquent gang involvement is referred to as gang involvement and it is distinguished from other forms of direct and indirect contact with gangs. Individuals experiencing such contact, without being directly associated with gangs, are referred to as *at risk* to gangsterism.

1.4.3 At risk

The adverse socio-economic conditions experienced in disadvantaged communities throughout Southern Africa create many non-normative challenges for youths to contend with. These may include poverty, high levels of unemployment, community violence and crime, drug trafficking and use, community-level gangsterism, and insufficient familial and/or social support (Anthonissen, 2011; Fabrik, 2007). Adolescents living amidst such circumstances are considered *at risk*, as these contextual challenges predispose them to behavioural, emotional, and social problems, and hamper their development in various domains (Botha, 2007). Normand (2007) defines *risk factors* as the characteristics that cause certain groupings to have higher likelihoods of unfavourable life outcomes than others, and who do not share those characteristics. Risk factors are, however, different from an *at-risk status*. This status is obtained when a number of risk factors combine to create an even greater likelihood of negative outcomes (Normand, 2007).

Living in a community marked by poverty and saturated with gangs qualifies all local youths for the at-risk categorisation. However, vulnerabilities and disadvantages accumulate over different domains, leaving certain youths more at risk than others (Leoschut, 2017). This study focused

specifically on the intersecting risk factors of age, socio-economic disadvantages, and gender. It sought to examine how adolescent girls are particularly at risk to the presence and effects of gangsterism in one local, low-income community. In this thesis, the term at-risk is used to specifically refer to females who are predisposed to become involved in gangs because the intersection of risk factors described above, may leave them with few other alternatives for addressing their needs (Aulakh, 2008). This term is not applied to describe girls who are already involved in gangs in the thesis, so as to discern groups who are merely at-risk and those who are actively engaging with the dangerous phenomenon of gangsterism.

1.5 Contextualisation

This study partnered with a community located within one neighbourhood of Stellenbosch which is known for gang activity (Mohedeen, 2016). The community is largely (95%) Afrikaans-speaking and predominantly (88%) made up of individuals who identify themselves as “Coloured” (Firth, n.d.). In this community 15 390 people live in situations ranging from disadvantaged and poor to extreme deprivation and marginalisation. Apartheid’s “Coloured” classification left a legacy of crime and exclusion in this community, which has been neglected in terms of service delivery and social development for many years (Redpath, 2001). Use of the term “Coloured” in this study is thus intended to clarify the socio-historical and political meaning that is inevitably a part of being a person of mixed race in South Africa’s Western Cape. It is by no means meant as a reiteration of a historically based discriminatory distinction, but is a crucial consideration in discussing the (predominantly Coloured) gangs that dominate the Western Cape’s impoverished urban communities. To illustrate, most of the adults in the target community for this study are informally employed as household and menial labourers, and very few local youths attend and/or complete school. Further socio-economic issues, such as illiteracy, unemployment, fatherlessness and overcrowded housing arrangements, are a daily reality. These issues have been associated with gangsterism in the literature on local gang activities (Pinnock, 2016; Redpath, 2001).

An online search of news databases revealed the deep-rooted and incessant nature of the community's gang problem. During my search on 31 August 2018 on the News24 and Netwerk24 databases, I found regular reporting on gang-related violence in the community dating back to 2000 (see, for example, News24, 2000). The most recent account, dated 27 August 2018, reports the death of "yet another" youth caught in the crossfire of an ongoing gang war (Ramongane, 2018a). Gang shootings are currently a frequent event in the community (Van der Spuy, 2017; Vos, 2018). An upsurge in local gang activity became especially apparent since March 2017 (Botha, 2017; Netwerk24: Eikestadnuus, 2017a). In response, the media turned their attention to the previously ignored gang activities running rampant in the community (see S. Fisher, 2017 and Netwerk24: Eikestadnuus, 2017b). In January 2018, Moses (2018) reported shots being fired in the community ("*Skote klap in X; vyf mans vas*"). This was followed up in mid-August by a local news report of six recent deaths, stating that shots were still resounding in the community ("*Skote klap steeds in X - 6 dood*"; Ramongane, 2018b). In the absence of official statistics, these headlines speak for themselves. Gangsterism is a salient issue in the community, which is affecting the lives of many youths. Adolescents are exposed to the gang-world's flourishing drug trade and kept from their education, as schools are shut down for fear of pupils being shot or hurt while at school or commuting to and from school (Netwerk24: Eikestadnuus, 2017a, 2017b).

Usiko Stellenbosch is a non-government organisation that aims to intervene and support youths living in this, and similar, communities in and around Stellenbosch. This NGO evolved from the Usiko Trust, founded in 1998 by Don Pinnock and others, as a CBPR project under the leadership of Prof. Tony Naidoo at Stellenbosch University (Naidoo, 2000; Naidoo & Van Wyk, 2003; Van Wyk & Naidoo, 2006). The organisation's core objectives focus on youth development and community building through design of development programmes and services for youth at risk in local communities (Botha, 2007). In 2017, Usiko received funding from Comic Relief's Global Initiative on Girls in Gangs (GIGI) to initiate a new programme for girls at risk of being caught up in the spiralling

gang phenomenon in their community. The UWWV programme was developed as a preventative intervention initiative specifically for late adolescent girls at risk to gang involvement and victimisation. This study explores programme outcomes and benefits from the perspective of UWWV graduates and aims to provide feedback in aid of intervention enhancement and development.

1.6 Overview of Thesis Structure

This master's thesis is structured as follows: *Chapter 1* introduced the problem of gangsterism, giving special consideration to the manner in which adolescent girls are distinctly at risk and uniquely affected by this social phenomenon. From this, a rationale and specific problem statement were formulated to motivate the reasoning behind the current study. Thereafter, research aims and objectives were stipulated and key concepts relating to the study's foci were identified and defined. The socio-geographical and theoretical contexts of the study were also given, and the chapter concluded with a short discussion of the methodological approach applied in the study.

Chapter 2 orientates the reader to the community psychology paradigm and the specific theoretical framework underpinning the study. I describe the values of the community psychology paradigm and how these were practically applied in the research. Thereafter follows a discussion on Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model, objectification theory and Prilleltensky and Nelson's conceptualisations of well-being. These provide the theoretical framework from which the study's analyses are structured.

Chapter 3 discusses literature related to gangsterism, its effect on adolescent girls and ways to intervene. Specifically, the chapter starts off with a discussion of female adolescence, describing the needs and vulnerabilities present for girls at this age. It also considers how these create a predisposition to gang-involvement in communities marked by poverty, deprivation, and marginalisation. Thereafter, the chapter provides an in-depth discussion of what gang-involvement entails and how it affects communities and individuals within the community. Lastly, it gives an overview of the key elements

that interventions for adolescent girls at risk to gangsterism should contain, with examples of existing interventions. Alongside these, a detailed description of the UWWV programme's structure and content is given.

Chapter 4 provides a description of the methodology that was employed in executing this research. Specifically, the qualitative, community-based participatory research design of the study is described. The procedure according to which participants were chosen and invited to take part in the study, is discussed, and a summary of the sample given. Also included is a presentation of the procedures for data processing and analyses, followed by a discussion of relevant ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the current study. Salient themes from the participants' experiences of the intervention consider the effectiveness of the implementation and outcomes of the programme. *Chapter 6* proceeds with a discussion of these findings. It considers the applications and implications of themes found in the analysis. The chapter presents a summary of the main outcomes that participants experienced during and following their involvement in the UWWV programme. Based on these, I provide an assessment regarding the effectiveness of the pilot intervention. I also consider the implications for research and practice. I conclude the thesis by providing a discussion of the limitations of the current study and offer some directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“We cannot understand the phenomenon without considering the broader context of communities, and maybe even an entire society, which inevitably gives rise to gangsterism.” (Pinnock, 2016, p. 94)

2.1 Introduction

This thesis describes how a community NGO has responded to the increasing concern regarding gangsterism and its impact on adolescent girls in the local context.

I gained access to the study through my involvement as a volunteer at Usiko Stellenbosch. I adopted a stance of not knowing and used appreciative enquiry to begin with developing a contextual understanding of the community’s perspective and experiences (Naidoo & Van Wyk, 2003). We worked collaboratively in our endeavour to develop an informed and sustainable intervention with the community. Community psychology, enacted through a CBPR model and grounded in the theoretical approaches of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) was utilised in the approach to this study.

This chapter includes a discussion on why a community psychology approach was necessary for the community-level problem of gangsterism. After clarifying this, I describe the worldview underscoring the approach. Also included, is a description of the theoretical frameworks wherein the community psychology approach was applied in this study.

2.2 Community Psychology Approaches for Community Level Problems

Gangsterism and its effects manifest at community and individual level, but the phenomenon also directly reflects the broader socio-historical injustices of a larger social system that threatens the well-being of many (Richards, 2017). The community is the juncture where individual experiences and macro-level influences meet. This makes it a valuable learning site to start grasping the injustices at play on different levels, and a meeting point for the various stakeholders to discuss possible ways

of challenging unjust systems (Campbell & Murray, 2004). Community psychology-based research includes ecological interpretation of behaviour and multi-level analyses of the impact of social issues (Bond, Serrano-Garcia, & Keys, 2017). According to Naidoo, Duncan, Roos, Pillay and Bowman (2007), this makes community psychology perfectly suited for contextualised consideration of issues such as gangsterism.

In line with community psychology's thinking, this study attempts to contextually understand the effects that gang presence within a community can exert on the health and well-being of adolescent girls. It theoretically orientates itself around the presupposition that gangsterism is a perennial problem that manifests itself in and through a specific community, thus it can be most effectively addressed by the community itself (Goodwill, 2009). This research seeks to contribute to the development of a community-level intervention for girls at risk to gangsterism. Its objectives draw seminally from the ethos of community psychology and participatory action research. The study thus aims to involve the community and help them access the resources that will empower them to generate and implement their own solution to their experience of gang-related problems (Bond et al., 2017; Radebe, 2012).

My research enacted the values of community psychology in two ways: firstly, the study undertook to collaboratively explore the efficacy of an intervention already being implemented by the NGO, Usiko Stellenbosch, in the community, thus helping to assess and improve their own community development efforts. This can contribute to critical engagement with the phenomenon of gangsterism and develop local knowledge and resources to inform sustainable interventions in and through the community. Secondly, the findings from the literature, the study and the consultative process are shared with the community-based NGO. This gives them access to empirical knowledge regarding gangsterism and interventions aimed at gang-involvement, which can be utilised for their purposes.

2.3 Community Psychology as a Worldview

Community psychology is not merely an intervention model or theoretical approach to a study. It is an ideological framework underpinning and informing the psychologist's thinking, engagement, and theorising regarding the context-specific presentation of an issue in a given community (Creswell, 2014; Yen, 2007). It orientates itself around values of reflexivity, critical consciousness, social justice, advocacy, and inclusive partnership, and prevention work (Bond et al., 2017; Visser, 2012). Community psychology has a distinct action orientation and strengths-based approach (Lazarus et al., 2014). Community psychologists take action in, with and through communities, in order to rectify social injustices and empower community participants (Swart & Bowman, 2007). In the current study, I developed a research focus and process in consultation with community role players. This research was practically geared towards assessing and improving a pilot intervention. The iterative planning, construction and assessment of the intervention was strongly orientated toward collaborative and practical preventative work, as is described in the values above.

Empowerment aims to promote well-being on different levels (e.g., psychological, organisational, in the community, societal) in such a manner that risks are alleviated and the community will be able to sustain positive changes, even after the researcher has withdrawn from the context (Keys, McConnell, Motley, Liao, & McAuliff, 2017). According to Goodwill (2009):

[Empowerment is] the processes by which people, organizations, or groups who are powerless or marginalized (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining reasonable control over their lives, (c) which they exercise, (d) without infringing on the rights of others, and (e) which coincides with actively supporting the empowerment of others in their community (p. 158).

In the current study, empowerment of the community involved equipping relevant role players with knowledge regarding gangsterism, helping them establish what types of interventions are

effective with local female youths and assisting them in improving the programme. Together, these processes ensured that the intervention was community-driven and sustainable. Empowerment processes in the study also required a critical awareness of power-imbalances in relationships, especially those that favour the researcher, in collaborative research relationships with community members (Keys et al., 2017; Yen, 2007). This self-awareness embodies the essence of community psychology, which is a reflexive and critical research orientation. It questions the approaches, assumptions, values, and methods of both the mainstream and its own research (Lazarus, Bulbulia, Taliep, & Naidoo, 2015).

Community psychology is critically aware of different contextual layers contributing to individual and communal problems (DuBois, 2017). Furthermore, community psychology stresses contextual relevance in the understandings of participants and the interventions that it generates. Collaboration with community members in research, intervention formulation and implementation is therefore a key value which was applied in this study (Lazarus et al., 2015; Van Wyk & Naidoo, 2006). In these processes, community members were viewed as expert consultants regarding their own lives (Naidoo & Van Wyk, 2003). The project created a space for shared learning where community members' experiential knowledge was respected, utilised, and reported along with the theoretical academic knowledge of the practitioner (Lazarus, Taliep, & Naidoo, 2017).

2.4 Theoretical Frameworks for Applying Community Psychology in the Research Context

Community psychology has since its emergence in the local context during the 1980s, significantly contributed to making psychology accessible and relevant to a wider scope of people (Yen, 2007). The approach introduced alternative community- and change oriented paradigms to psychology research and practice, and located it in the local cultural and socio-political context (Naidoo et al., 2007).

As was the case globally, community psychology developed as a response to social and political oppression and exclusion in the Apartheid era (Seedat & Lazarus, 2014). However, considering the legacy of Apartheid, which is present in South African community contexts, the approach is still much needed to transform power relationships into local knowledge production (Lazarus et al., 2015). Currently, what we know of gangsterism largely stems from institutionalised, state-funded research and police reports. These impose an authoritative voice which problematises gangs. It neglects the viewpoint of those who are part of the gangs and the gang-plagued communities, where these groupings have great instrumental value and serve a social function (Pinnock, 2016). Community psychology provides tools to conduct analyses that will include these voices for a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon and the social functions it fulfils. These analyses will also facilitate empowerment of those living in gang-saturated communities, thus addressing the issue, rather than just describing it (Lazarus et al., 2015).

In this study, I partnered with the community youth workers from Usiko Stellenbosch to enact the paradigm of community psychology. In line with the core preventative focus of community psychology (DuBois, 2017), our study aimed to prevent gang-involvement and other adverse effects associated with gang exposure among adolescent girls. The emic knowledge gathered from the community's youths during the research was used to explore programme graduates' experiences of and improve Usiko's prevention programme for girls at risk to gangsterism.

Given the limited knowledge available regarding the phenomenon of girls in gangs, an explorative contextualised approach was deemed essential in order to understand the layers of social influences impacting participants (Sutton, 2017). I opted to make use of Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of ecological systems to make sense of the lived experiences, outcomes, and effects of the intervention in different spheres of the adolescent girls' lives. I supplemented this with a consideration of Prilleltensky and Nelson's writings on well-being, including some of the ideas found in gender theory and sexual objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The combination of these

three theoretical approaches presents a comprehensive and meaningful structure along which my analyses and discussion thereof can be framed, bringing community context, gender, and well-being into focus. The study also assumed the phenomenological position of enquiry recommended by Bond and colleagues (2017), attempting to consider participants' lived experiences in context, rather than imposing an outsider's understanding of the challenges and experiences on different levels. Contextualised and phenomenological positions of enquiry embodied an important principle underlying the ecological approach, as it applies to intervention formulation, namely that we must understand a context and the individual therein, before we can presume to improve either or both (Hawe, 2017).

2.4.1 Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model

Urie Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development was first published in the 1970s as an ecological model, which conceptualised the reciprocal influences of the individual on his/her environment, and the influential role that these play in individual development (Bronfenbrenner, 1974, 1976, 1979). Since then Bronfenbrenner's model has undergone significant changes and developments. Moving away from its initial focus, which was mostly understanding the context of individual development, later reformations of the theory emphasised the role of individual characteristics and agency in development, and also included considerations of the impact of time (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Thus, it introduced a different understanding of human development, with the *proximal processes* taking place on each level of the context (rather than the context itself), being what essentially drives individual development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). These play out in and through the individual as s/he interacts with different spatial, temporal, and relational elements of their context (Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000). According to the revised theory, four elements simultaneously and interactively determine developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, 2006). These four elements, collectively known as the PPCT (*process, person, context and time*)

model, form a useful framework for studying individual development in a contextualised manner (Tudge et al., 2016).

Process. Proximal processes are the vehicle for human development in Bronfenbrenner's theory (Tudge et al., 2016). It involves the direct and reciprocal interactions or relationships that the individual frequently has with people, objects, and symbols in his/her immediate environment (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). According to Bronfenbrenner (1994), developmental progress is concurrent with increases in the complexity of proximal interactions. However, the form, power, and direction of proximal processes are a function of the specific person characteristics and contextual features that are brought to the process. These ultimately determine the nature, durability, and desirability of developmental outcomes linked to the process.

Person. Bronfenbrenner (1993) viewed the person as having agency to act in and on their context, and to modify and select their environment through proximal processes. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) describe three types of person characteristics that impact on proximal processes. *Resource characteristics* determine the ability of a person to effectively take part in different proximal processes. *Force characteristics* entail personal characteristics that impact the ways in which interactions are initiated and sustained by the individual. *Demand characteristics* are characteristics of the person that are apparent, thus influencing the way in which other role players engage with the individual on a social level (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). However, even though these person characteristics play an important role, the ability to alter their environment can only (fully) develop where the environment supports and enables such self-directed action (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Thus, a contextualised understanding of the developing individual is promulgated.

Context. The theory conceptualises context in terms of different interdependent *ecological systems*, which are nested in each other to dynamically and reciprocally impact one another in multiple direct and indirect ways (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994, 1999) (see *Figure 2.1* for an illustration of this

nested structure). With the qualifier of “ecological”, Bronfenbrenner highlights that it is not only the spatial context that plays a determinative role. Individuals and potential interactions within an environment form an important part of the context (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Following this logic, the four ecological systems can be distinguished by their relational proximity to the developing individual: The *microsystem* consists of frequent and direct interactions with immediate family and friends (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Containing one-on-one interactions, the micro-system entails the most proximal relationships of the individual’s ecology. Proximal processes in different microsystem contexts are interlinked and, as is implied by the concept of the *mesosystem*, mutually influence each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The mesosystem consists of the interactions between different microsystems with the individual also being actively involved (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The *exosystem* is a larger organisational level. Interactions take place between different role settings, such as the media or a parent’s employer, which indirectly influences the person (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). A very important example of this is the socio-economic factors (such as unemployment or dependence on social grants) that might impact the earning power of a caretaker. Finally, *macrosystems* that are the broadest forms of social organisation. Macrosystems embody the overarching belief systems and lifestyles of a given society (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) and finds their outing in the way that the lower systems (schools, families, friends, groups, etc.) function (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The impact of macrosystems become apparent as it affects the overarching patterns that are characteristic of a given culture or society’s micro-, meso- and exosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). In South Africa, the legacy of Apartheid is a clear example of a macrosystem element that filters through to visibly influence all levels of social functioning.

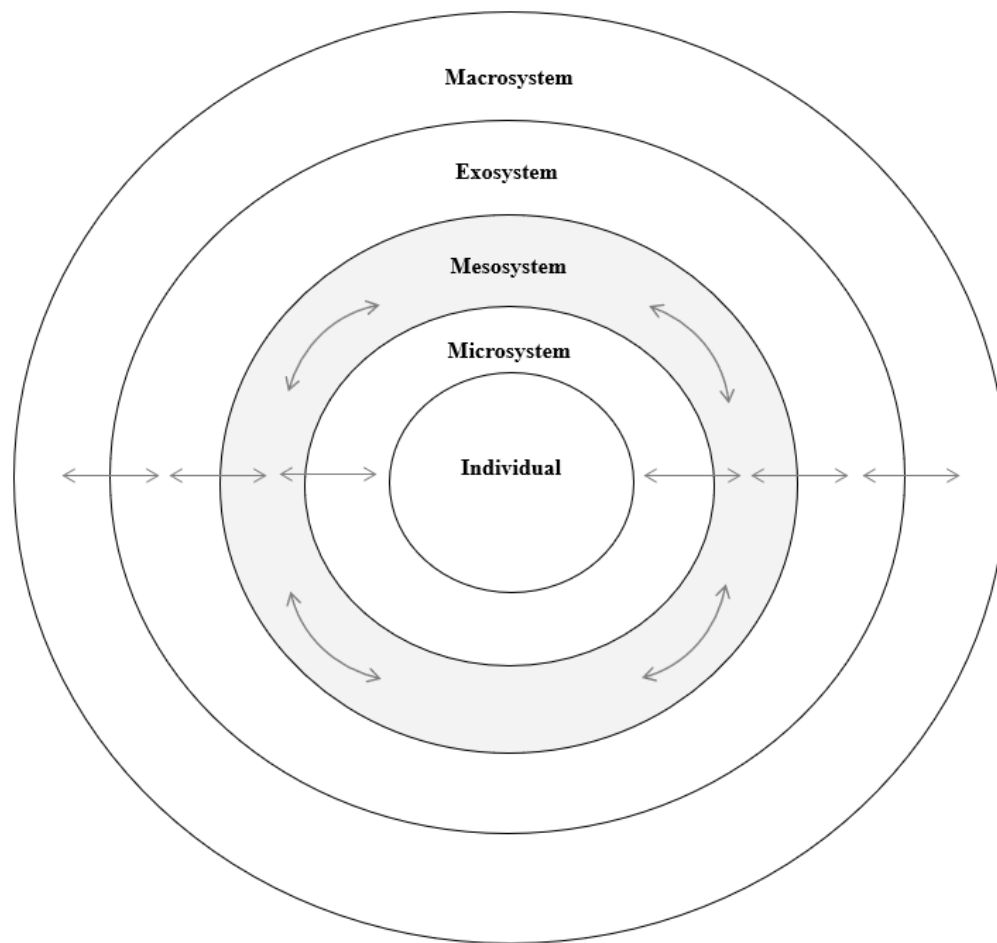


Figure 2.1. The different layers in the nested structure of ecological systems that make up the developmental context of an individual according to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory.

Time. Often introduced as a fifth contextual layer in Bronfenbrenner's theory, the *chronosystem* considers what happens as time passes (in both the ontogenetic and broader historical sense) (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The chronosystem considers how the passing of time might be coupled with change and/or consistency, both in the individual and in the different systems that make up their environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The changes taking place in different systems alter the reciprocal relationship between the individual and their environment and require adjustments in the different interlinked systems (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The chronosystem encapsulates all the other systems to allow for the dynamic interaction that will invariably take place within and across all of these different social systems (Van Wyk, 2015). In order to create a theoretical structure for the concept of time, Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998, 2006) delineated time into three levels: *microtime*, *mesotime* and

macrotime. These concepts echo the pattern of the corresponding contextual systems: microtime looks at ongoing episodes of proximal processes (the typical daily interactions of the individual) and how these change or stay the same. Mesotime considers the frequency of such episodes. Macrotime considers continuity and change that takes place in the broader society, even spanning across generations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

2.4.2 Applying Bronfenbrenner's model to the study's context

Female adolescents from the target community can be conceptualised in terms of Bronfenbrenner's person, process, context, and time model:

Person. Every girl growing up in this community carries unique characteristics which influence the proximal processes that they engage in on a daily basis. These differences appear in how they view and respond to gangsterism in different areas of their lives. Pertinent here is situating factors such as gender, age of the individual, and internal resilience.

Process. The everyday close interactions of females in the community tend to be with family and friends at school. Regarding family, the traditional "nuclear family" format most often does not apply to the living arrangement of these girls. They typically live with a single parent, grandparent or sibling. Friends are individuals of a similar age whom they grew up with and often see in their street or at school. Most girls also have regular contact with gang members from the local community.

Context. The girls' microsystems typically consist of members of their household. It also includes their school, teachers, and the circle of friends they see on a near-daily basis. The mesosystem consists of interactions between microsystem-elements, for example, the relationships and dynamics between other family members and peers at school. Their exosystem includes happenings in parents' or caretakers' relationships with each other and the impact of gangs operating within the community. Pertinent in the community's exosystem, are high levels of parental unemployment or household dependency on social grants constraining processes. Lastly, the macrosystem the girls are situated in,

is the post-Apartheid legacy of many low income South African communities. This is marked by rampant poverty and crime, high school attrition rates, teenage pregnancies, the sequelae of high levels of unemployment. The broader and distal aspects of the community as a peri-urban and largely racially segregated context are pertinent in considering the exosystem. The inflated unemployment rate and high levels of crime in the community are linked to the Apartheid's forced removals. The community's working-class socio-economic status and overcrowded living conditions are poignantly juxtaposed to the more affluent suburbs of other communities in the Stellenbosch district, which have better schools, resources and service delivery systems, and also experience significantly less gang activity.

Time. The element of time is salient for late adolescent girls in the target community, as they are in a significant period of life transition, from the final years of school to tertiary education options or the world of work; this against the background of alarming rates of youth unemployment. Concepts of micro- and mesotime may consider changes in friends, groups and leaving school, and how that impacts on different aspects of the individual's functioning in different ecological spheres. Macrotime consideration includes community-level issues, such as gangsterism: how gangs have been present and evolved in their community over a span of several decades. Notably, this concept would also consider how the presentation of these problems might change in years to come.

2.4.3 Well-being

The aim of intervening with the adverse effects of gangsterism in and through a community, would be embodied in increased and sustained well-being of participants. Prilleltensky's discussions of well-being as it relates to liberation processes (i.e., the empowerment of those facing conditions of social injustice) (see Prilleltensky, 2012; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2007) are thus applicable. The theorist defines well-being as "a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of diverse objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities" (Prilleltensky, 2012, p. 2).

The theory conceptualised individual well-being as being entwined with different spheres of the society and community in which an individual is embedded (Naidoo, Van Wyk, & Carolissen, 2008; Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2007). Prilleltensky and Nelson's (2002) model of well-being posits that there are three interacting spheres of well-being (personal, relational and collective), which jointly and iteratively determine the physical and mental health that would constitute the overall well-being of an individual (see Figure 2.2). The degree to which these needs are met in each separate domain, also significantly impacts the experience of well-being in the other domains (Naidoo et al., 2008). Overall well-being is only achieved when personal, relational, and collective needs are simultaneously satisfied (Prilleltensky, 2012).

In this study, Prilleltensky and Nelson's theorisation provide a meaningful structure for considering well-being on different levels, how the intervention programme may contribute to specific domains, and the overall well-being of participants.

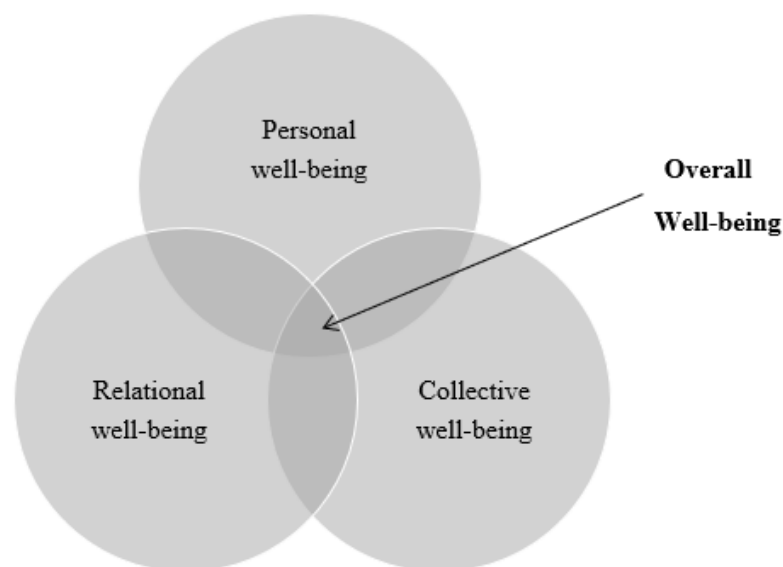


Figure 2.2. Prilleltensky and Nelson's (2002) model of well-being, with three iteratively influencing domains of well-being that should be satisfied in a balanced manner for overall well-being to be achieved (adapted with permission from Naidoo et al. (2008)).

2.4.4 Gender theorising and sexual objectification theory

Bond and Wasco (2017) argue that gender should be considered as a quality of the social setting – a context in and of itself – when contextualised approaches to individual experiences are undertaken. This is necessary because in gendered settings, individuals are insidiously divided and opposed against each other, based on the implicit assumptions that they belong to distinct and unequal categories. Gender has a salient effect in determining the opportunities afforded to a person. Being categorised as either a male or female, unlocks a concurrent male or female “universe of alternatives for behaviours and roles” (Bond & Wasco, 2017, p. 372). This also closes the individual off from behaviours, roles, resources, and opportunities not normatively included in their prescribed gender category. Unfortunately, gender is often a constraining social setting that cuts females off from resources and options that they may need to survive and thrive.

Globally, social arrangements typically favour males in terms of access to resources and power (Bond & Wasco, 2017). Although gender norms, roles and expectations vary greatly throughout and within different cultural groupings, the local context has been found to echo this arrangement (see Anthonissen, 2011; Salo, 2005; Shefer et al., 2008; Van Wyk, 2015). In a study of gender role construction amongst men and women in the Western Cape, South Africa, participants held traditional, heteronormative notions of gender roles and domains (Shefer et al., 2008). Gender inequality is entrenched in the cultural mindset of our context, and pervasive on different levels of social arrangement in South Africa (Anthonissen, 2011).

An important indicator of this inequality is the persistence and intensity of violence committed against females (Shefer et al., 2008). Statistics South Africa (SSA, 2013) acknowledges the perpetration of an “unacceptable” level of gender-based violence against South African women. In a recent study, Meinck, Cluver, Boyes, and Loening-Voysey (2016) found that nearly one third (31%) of female adolescent participants are subjected to physical abuse. The 2015/16 Victims of Crime Survey indicates how oppressive cultural notions compound with high levels of crime and violence

prevalent in the South African society to produce a distinct risk for females to be victimised (SSA, 2017). Because they are physically less strong than males, females are targeted as easy victims (Gover, Jennings, & Tewksbury, 2009). Sexual violence, in particular, seems to be linked to gender-based victimisation of women and girls (Artz et al., 2016). The rate of sexual victimisation for underage girls in South Africa is 38% compared to 17% for underage boys (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, Jama, & Puren, 2010). Young girls and women are respectively 20% and 30% more likely than their male counterparts to be trafficked (SSA, 2017). Amongst females, this leads to curtailed freedom and pervasive fear for their own safety, especially in the notoriously violent gang context (Van Wyk, 2015).

Anthonissen (2011) describes an array of statutory measures and mechanisms, including the Office for the Status of Women, the South African Gender Commission, and the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 that have been put in place to protect South African women against such abuse and infringements on their rights. However, these are yet to transform the experiences of discrimination and oppression of females in the country. According to SSA (2013), “discriminatory practices, social norms and persistent stereotypes often shape inequitable access to opportunities, resources and power for women and girls” (p. vi). Girls, especially those living in communities with a very strong tradition of being patriarchally structured, are at a clear disadvantage due to their gender. According to SSA (2013), South African women are far less likely than their male counterparts to be employed, regardless of ethnic background or education level. Females are often withheld from secondary and/or tertiary education and other educational opportunities so that they may fulfil traditional “female” roles, such as housekeeping and taking care of their siblings, at home (Van Wyk, 2015). Being denied a good education magnifies the risk already present due to patriarchy and socio-economic disadvantages, and further limits the few resources to their disposal. Females in disadvantaged contexts have even less access to resources and opportunities, such as relational, economic or power, and educational or employment opportunities (Goldblatt, 2005). In a recent study conducted by Van Wyk (2015) in communities similar to the target community, highlighted the determinative (often restrictive)

influence that gendered treatment of young girls has on the well-being, development, and interpersonal relationships of females in this context.

In addition to their prescribed roles of subordination, girls also grow up in a culture where sexual objectification of females is not only acceptable, but often encouraged (American Psychological Association (APA) Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007; Van Wyk, 2015). Fredrickson and Roberts' (1997) objectification theory provides a framework for understanding how this objectification takes place in society as well as in the individual's own thinking. *Sexual objectification* refers to the individual's purpose and worth that is viewed primarily in terms of her potential to fulfil sexual desires. Acknowledgement of the individual's personhood is exclusively bodily, and ignores non-physical components of the self, such as their capacity for thinking or feeling and their personality (Vasquez, Osinnowo, Pina, Ball, & Bell, 2017).

Objectifying thinking makes the female body a sexual object and “public domain”, which may be incessantly gazed upon, exploited, and evaluated according to prescribed standards of ideal beauty (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Van Wyk, 2015). By reducing the woman to an object which may be controlled and manipulated for instrumental purposes, objectifying perceptions open the doorway for a host of dehumanising behaviours to be perpetrated against them (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Van Wyk, 2015; Vasquez et al., 2017). Such objectification also influences the perceptions of the “objects” themselves (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997); it can warp girls' perceptions of self-worth as they adopt the idea that their worth is exclusively linked to their sexual appeal. Self-objectification is linked to continual self-surveillance, which leads to an array of negative outcomes for psychological and physical well-being and encumbered relationships with other females (Van Wyk, 2015).

In summary, Hawe (2017) proposes that theory should “help the practitioner conceive or frame a problem and work out the best way to address it” (p. 94). This study uses Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model to conceptualise different levels of the participants' ecological context. This is

combined with Prilleltensky and Nelson's writings on well-being, which conceptualise that wellness is dependent on personal, relational, and collective conditions and resources within the individual's context. However, gender is also a salient factor in this context, placing the well-being of girls at more risk to gangsterism. Therefore, the three theories enable me to look at the experiences of programme outcomes for girls who graduated from the UWWV programme in 2017 in a holistic, multi-level analysis. The analysis will provide a thick and holistic view of the participants' experiences, leading to an understanding of the effects that the prevention programme had on individual lives (Bond et al., 2017).

The next chapter expands on the literature regarding experiences of adolescent girls at risk to gangsterism. This will confirm the need for interventions focused on at risk females, before describing some of the proposed contents of such an intervention programme. Although based on very limited resources, this begins to pave the way for us to construct understandings of females' experiences of and risks to gangs which are largely absent in current literature.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

If we are willing to allow young women to be exploited by poverty and crime – if we can offer them no way out of victimization – then we can hardly be surprised if they respond by nurturing a self-protective reputation for craziness.

(Harrington, Cavett, & Avenue, 2000, p. 113)

3.1 Introduction

This research was motivated by reports from different avenues appealing on behalf of adolescent girls who are not yet involved with gangsterism, but who stand to be affected very negatively if they do get drawn in by the gangs that saturate their communities. In this chapter, I provide a review of the literature addressing the intersection of female adolescence, at risk behaviour, gender subjugation and gang involvement. I also consider the foci, application, and assessment of programmes aimed at intervening with the antecedent factors that place this vulnerable population group at a distinct risk to gangs.

The chapter is structured as follows: I first consider the needs and vulnerabilities related to being both an adolescent and female in a disadvantaged community. I also consider how this combination of demographic characteristics places the individual distinctly at risk to adverse effects from their environment and formulate an argument for increased focus on the plight of females in such contexts. Secondly, I discuss the phenomenon of gangsterism – its local and global prevalence, functions of the gang, the predisposing factors for gang involvement and the consequences of such involvement. I specifically consider the experiences and roles of females in the gang context. Thereafter a discussion follows, which considers the programmes and interventions available to youth at risk to gangs internationally and locally. I expand on the approach of Usiko and the UWWV project,

before giving a brief review of the motivations and methods used to consider intervention efficacy in qualitative research.

3.2 Being a Girl in a Gang-Saturated Environment

Gang involvement and victimisation tend to impact members of specific groups more than others. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2017), it is important to be aware of how intersecting demographic factors create profiles of risk, as this is a key to opening the doors to protection for those who need it most. Inclusion of ecological models and contextualised approaches are particularly helpful in this pursuit (Hawe, 2017). This study therefore looks at the individual and intersecting experiences of risk that are created by age and gender for individuals in high risk communities.

3.2.1 Adolescence

The specific developmental needs and social orientation of adolescents place them at an enhanced risk to become involved with gangsterism. Adolescent youths are not only more likely to be recruited into gangs, but are also the most vulnerable to victimisation by gangs. Lindberg and colleagues (2011) report that the majority (55%) of gang-related homicide victims are younger than 19 years. Considering that only 16% of non-gang homicides have adolescent victims, the disproportionality of this statistic is concerning. Furthermore, several researchers (including Buthelezi (2012), Goodwill (2009), Pinnock (2016), and Pyrooz (2014)) concur that the adolescent and early adult years are ripe periods for first involvement with gangs. Taylor (2013) cites a range of 12 to 30 years whereas in South Africa, specifically, Pinnock (2016) has found an age span from 15 to 25 years. Research on female recruitment and involvement is limited, but one source identifies the typical age of entry for girls in South Africa in the mid-teen years, which is around 14 years of age (Vetten, 2000). This is similar to international studies, with the majority of female entrants into gangs being between 14 and 25 years old (Nimmo, 2001).

Adolescence is one of a few critical periods in the human life span development. The outcomes of this tumultuous transition phase are determinative for lifespan outcomes (Moilanen, Shaw, & Maxwell, 2010). The phase begins with the physiological changes that occur during puberty, and ends with the socio-cultural and psychological transition into a mature, moral and work-related identity (Normand, 2007). Biological changes marking the beginning of this phase are the adolescent growth spurt and the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics early in adolescence (Weiten, 2014). The rapid growth in height and weight of the adolescent growth spurt typically starts at around the age of 10 for girls. It is caused by hormonal changes that also trigger sexual maturation. As this maturation starts, females' breasts develop and their hips widen. Thereafter, the structures necessary for reproduction mature. The female adolescent experiences a slight enlargement of the sex organ and *menarche* (her first menstrual cycle) (Louw & Louw, 2014).

Amidst these physiological changes, intense psycho-social adjustment challenges also emerge. As they transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescents grapple with the need to establish an identity for themselves (McLeod, 2013; Weiten, 2014). Sokol (2009) utilises an Eriksonian perspective to conceptualise identity as a coherent and stable sense of self and clarity regarding one's relations to the world. Erik Erikson famously conceptualised lifespan development as a series of eight cumulative, epigenetically determined psychosocial stages, each of which is characterised by a crisis (a tension between two developmental outcomes) (McLeod, 2013). These conflicts must be adequately solved in order to progress to the next stage and for a "healthy personality" to develop (Erikson, 1959, 1963). Erikson posited that the developmental challenge for the adolescent is *Ego Identity vs. Role Confusion* (Erikson, 1963; Weiten, 2014). During adolescence, the individual is distinctly impressionable and inclined to explore. This is partly due to the progression of cognitive development during adolescence and the timing of the development of different brain regions (Willoughby, Good, Adachi, Hamza, & Tavernier, 2013). However, the expansion of cognitive abilities (to include formal operations and abstract thinking), also allows for a wider consideration of options (Weiten, 2014). Furthermore,

increased independence and the broadening social sphere of the adolescent ensures exposure to many new relationships, ideas, and opportunities (Sullivan, 2005). Adolescents experiment with a wide array of experiences and ideologies at this stage, looking for the values and identity that they will commit themselves to. Erikson (1963) aptly describes this process:

Adolescent development comprises a new set of identification processes, both with significant persons and with ideological forces, which give importance to individual life by relating it to a living community and to ongoing history, and by counterpointing the newly won individual identity with some communal solidarity (pp. 19-20).

Failure to establish a clear individual and/or group identity, leads to role confusion and associated negative outcomes (McLeod, 2013). The determinative role of the group identity is captured in further theorising, which confirms that adolescence is a fundamental time for social development (Taylor, 2013). During this developmental period, the individual spends increasingly more time with friends and acquaintances of their own age, and these begin to influence them more saliently than the family (who would typically have been the primary influence during previous life phases (Alkana, 2006)). The influence of the peer group is due, in part, to the need to belong, which is very prominent during adolescence (Louw & Louw, 2014). Adolescents highly value any form of recognition from the peer group, and are often willing to accept and submit to any norms put forward by the group to ensure their acceptance (Sullivan, 2005). Intense feelings of vulnerability and cravings for affection could result from inadequate satisfaction of the need to belong (Normand, 2007).

Invariably, adolescence is a time of rapid and simultaneous biological, cognitive, emotional, and psychosocial changes, disruptions and adjustments. These make adolescents susceptible to a myriad of influences, which may be both internal and external (Normand, 2007; Sokol, 2009). Internal influences are related to the physical and psycho-emotional adaptations that the adolescent is faced with in this period. These include hormonal changes, an increased capacity for reflection, and issues of

identity formation and self-esteem (Louw & Louw, 2014). External influences include elements of the physical context and social sphere that the adolescent resides in. During adolescence, peer pressure and the expansion of the social world to include a wider range of possibilities, opinions, and experiences (especially in terms of social media) become increasingly more salient (Knoetze, 2003; McLeod, 2013). Adapting to new roles and expectations in the family and/or community context is challenging for the adolescent (Fabrik, 2007). Furthermore, the adverse socio-economic conditions experienced in disadvantaged communities throughout South Africa create many additional challenges for adolescents to contend with (Normand, 2007). Adolescents not only face challenges to navigate the intense internal disruptions they experience (Weiten, 2014), but also need to adapt to severe deficiencies and high risk circumstances in their families and communities (Pinnock, 2016). These may include poverty, high levels of unemployment, parental absenteeism, community violence and crime, drug trafficking and use, insufficient familial and/or social support and poor communities amenities and services (Bubolz & Simi, 2015; Normand, 2007).

Adolescents from disadvantaged communities are considered at risk, as these structural conditions and contextual challenges can predispose them to behavioural, emotional and social problems, and hamper development in various domains (Fabrik, 2007). In disadvantaged South African communities, historically discriminatory systems and structural deprivation continue to impede the well-being and development of groups that were marginalised by the Apartheid administration (Normand, 2007). They are at a heightened risk to adopt problem behaviours and engage in delinquency (Anthonissen, 2011). This risk is compounded by the adolescent's pronounced developmental need for social affiliation (Fabrik, 2007). Typically, adolescents turn to peer groups and other social organisations for acceptance (Van Wyk, 2015). Unfortunately, in contexts of deprivation and neglect, gangs may present the lure or promise of social belonging, identity, and material providence. Adolescents seeking security and satisfaction of emerging social needs, often turn to gangs for protection, belonging, and sustenance (Lenzi et al., 2015). Gangs offer a well-defined (and

often esteemed) identity, with clear cut paths to attain it. In the absence of attainable, prosocial alternatives, adolescents assume gangster-identities; linking their identity to the gang (Vigil, 2008). In this sense their involvement is a rite of passage – a way of validating themselves to themselves and to others, which results from society’s failure to provide cultural structures and opportunities to do so in a constructive manner (Pinnock, 2016).

3.2.2 Girlhood

In addition to typical risk factors relating to all adolescents, girls face many gender-specific challenges during this life phase. According to UNICEF (2017), the onset of adolescence is the start of an onslaught of gender-specific risks and disadvantages for girls. It is around puberty that socially structured favouritism of males becomes overt, with the clear anatomical changes that become visible in both genders being used as justification for such differential treatment (Sullivan, 2005). Having become physically “ripe” for the task, girls are expected to step into their culturally prescribed role of sex partner and maternal nurturer/homemaker (Van Wyk, 2015). Concerning the former, sexual objectification facilitates aggression towards women and often leads to abuse, both of an explicitly sexual nature and brutally violent forms (Vasquez et al., 2017). Paradoxically, many women are coerced by societal oppression and the threatening circumstances in the greater community to subject themselves to the oppression of gang patriarchy (Aulakh, 2008).

In an attempt to start addressing the risks that girls face in this context, the allure that gang life can have for adolescent girls, especially those from disadvantaged communities, must be understood. According to Aguilar Umaña and Rikkers (2012), factors motivating adolescent girls to become associated with gangs may include poverty, unemployment, educational deficiencies, persistent exposure to drugs, crime or violence in the community, and experiences of victimisation in the home and elsewhere. Furthermore, peer pressure and a lack of personal resilience or social resources can also lead to gang-involvement. According to Sutton (2017), vulnerable girls often turn to gangs as a viable pathway to belonging, protection, and provision. It is a toxic cycle, in which a disadvantaged

background and oppressive culture leave girls with limited resources and opportunities (Aulakh, 2008). Having few other options, they enter the gang subculture, which is marked by many of the same, and even more, limiting and oppressive patriarchal notions (Dziewanski, 2014).

Sutton (2017) indicates that the allure of gangs for adolescent girls plays much more on their need for relatedness, than their need to establish a sense of identity or material benefit (both of which are dominant motivations for adolescent boys' gang involvement (Pinnock, 2016)). Their involvement with gangs rarely entails actual membership in the gang (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). It is mostly an informal connection entailing association with gang members through relationships (romantic, familial or otherwise) (Voisin, King, Diclemente, & Carry, 2014). Some researchers report that girls may purposefully seek boyfriends who are gang members (Wegner et al., 2016). They are drawn to the "bad boy" image and enjoy the excitement of sharing in the gang lifestyle (United Kingdom (UK) Centre for Social Justice, 2014). Others have found that the financial and physical security that relationships with gang-involved men promise, has great allure for females (Wegner et al., 2016). In terms of family relationships, early family life plays a determinative role in whether youths become affiliated with gangs:

Family life has been found to be perhaps the single most important factor in differentiating youth who join gangs from those who do not. Although the family situations of both male and female gang members are often problematic, girls, clearly, tend to come from even more stressed family situations than boys (Vigil, 2008, p. 55).

Having male family members, especially a father or brothers, who are involved in gangs, greatly increases the female's chances of being pulled into gang involvement (Saavedra, 2015). This may be due to an increase of contact with gang members in everyday circumstances (Wegner et al., 2016), or due to an active urging by family members to join the gang (Sutton, 2017). However, family-related reasons for gang entry more often entail females seeking refuge from poor home circumstances

in gangs (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). Across genders, research has consistently illustrated a link between victimisation within the home context and gang involvement (see Goodwill, 2009; Wegner et al., 2016). However, experiences of familial abuse and neglect, especially sexual abuse, is a particularly salient precursor to gang affiliation among females (Sutton, 2017). Keogh (2014) asserts that female gang members are three times more likely to have experienced neglect and abuse in their homes from a young age than non-gang members who live in similar communities. In South Africa, 16.1% of children are emotionally abused and 20.8% of children experience physical abuse at the hands of their caregivers in South Africa (Artz et al., 2016). According to Leoschut (2017), 15% of South African youths also experience neglect in the home. According to Sutton (2017), gang involvement is a way of coping with severe trauma inflicted by experiences of home abuse or neglect. The accepted view is that gangs serve as surrogate families for females who are victimised by members of their biological families (Pinnock, 2016). The gang becomes an alternative source of safety and identity (Moore & Hagedorn, 2001), and provides for the unmet needs of the adolescent girl (Nimmo, 2001).

3.2.3 Female x Adolescent x Poor x Exposed: Intersecting risk statuses

Synthesising all intersections of risks for female youths in gang-saturated, marginalised communities is a formidable task. In this brief discussion, it was apparent that being female often adds to and accentuates vulnerabilities experienced due to other demographic characteristics, such as age and socio-economic background (Aulakh, 2008). Aldridge and colleagues (2011) assert that the accumulation of risk factors leads to specific adolescents being distinctly at risk to gang involvement and victimisation. Existing literature provides different phrases, which attempts to capture this synergistic effect. Patricia Hill Collins (2015) refers to *intersectionality*, which is “the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities” (p. 1). Vigil (2008) refers to the phrase *multiple marginality* as a theory building

framework, which captures the complex and persistent nature of different economic, material, sociocultural, and psychological forces underlying the phenomenon of gangsterism and youth's interaction therewith. Finally, David Finkelhor and colleagues devised the term *poly-victimisation*, referring to the fact that different forms of victimisation are often interconnected and overlapping (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007).

Regardless of the appellation used, a need exists for frameworks that consider the multi-faceted and interactive nature of risk factors in order to create a deeper understanding of adolescent girls' life experiences, including the gangs that may plague their communities. Most studies tend to focus exclusively on the in-depth investigation of a single (or at most, a combination of two) risk-producing characteristics (Leoschut, 2013). Although such studies have provided very valuable insights into predisposing factors and typical outcomes associated with such individual categories, they do not constitute the entire picture. Risk outcomes for any individual are not the collective sum, but rather the cumulative product of all the risk factors experienced by that person. The necessity of a multi-faceted approach to better understand this product, and intervene more effectively with it, is only starting to receive empirical attention (Leoschut, 2017). One particularly useful theory is Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (described in the preceding chapter), which provides a comprehensive conceptual structure to frame such multi-faceted approaches (Rosa & Tudge, 2013).

Intersections of race, class, age, and gender create the specific oppressive experience of adolescent girls (Van Wyk, 2015). This contributes to the (already strong) motivation for young females from disadvantaged communities to seek social support in gangs. Because these girls are uniquely at risk to the presence of gangsterism in their communities, unique interventions are necessary to address their needs.

3.2.4 The need for a female focus

When it comes to gangsterism and interventions aimed at gang involvement, there is simply no “one size fits all” panacea. Vulnerability to, and experiences of gang involvement are significantly different for males and females (Dziewanski, 2014). Furthermore, subgroups within this categorisation are vulnerable to different degrees and in different manners (Lindberg et al., 2011). Therefore, interventions should be tailored specifically for the population that they are geared at.

In the discussion above, I illustrated the distinct risk that adolescent girls experience. Many researchers (Aguilar Umaña & Ridders, 2012; Hayward & Honegger, 2014; Vetten, 2000) emphasise the need for interventions aimed at females. For example, King, Voisin and Diclemente (2015) state that young females are a key target population for interventions aimed at preventing and intervening with youth gangs. Globally, a substantial number of girls are involved in gangs, both directly and indirectly. Yet, most gang interventions and support services do not accommodate females (Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012). Both locally and globally, little is known about the plight and prospects of women and girls involved in gang activities. Research on the phenomenon of gangsterism has been almost exclusively directed at male experiences and interventions for men (see Hayward & Honegger, 2014; Nydegger et al., 2017). Studies on female involvement with gangs are very limited (both in approach and in volume) and intervention programmes are few and far between (Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012).

The sparse literature on female gang involvement has mainly focused on the supporting functions of females to gangs. Almost no research exists on the specific experiences and predisposing factors affecting girls at risk to, but not yet involved with gangs. This gender-gap in gang research and interventions is not only problematic because it discredits female roles and involvement in gangs. It is also problematic because many victimised women fall through that gap. According to Aguilar Umaña and Ridders (2012), the lack of research regarding female experiences in gangs is complacent to many instances of violence, sexual abuse, human trafficking, and even femicide. It leaves victims vulnerable and at risk to re-victimisation by not providing/expanding gender-specific support services and, in a

sense, invalidating their experiences. The horror of what these women stand to face must be acknowledged in order to ensure that their experience of risk and victimisation is effectively intervened with (as is the focus of this study).

Clearly, knowledge needs to be gathered regarding the victimisation risk for female adolescents and their experiences of gangs. This will address a crucial dearth in empirical knowledge on gangs and inform interventions for a population that is currently at risk and without aid (Sutton, 2017).

3.3 Gangsterism

3.3.1 Local and Global Gang Prevalence

Gangsterism is a maladaptive coping mechanism plaguing disenfranchised communities across the world. Research consistently finds that poverty and marginalisation pre-empt gang formation and membership (Finney, 2007). Community members with severely limited options for making a living, especially youth, often consider gangs as their only viable option (Pinnock, 2016).

Locally, gangsterism is largely constrained to disadvantaged, peri-urban communities. Here, gang membership provides a means of coping with the marginalisation, poverty, and crime that emerged in Apartheid and is sustained by ineffective policing and governance today (Van Wyk, 2001). However, gangsterism has been a present and salient issue in South Africa even since before Apartheid. In Buthelezi (2012) records of gang activities date back as early as 1937. However, the problem has compounded over the past few years, as gang networks have expanded and incorporated more sophisticated criminal activities (Wegner et al., 2016). In their 2013/2014 national crime report, the SAPS (2014) raised concern because gangsterism in South Africa had spread beyond its traditional domains (the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng), with crimes in other provinces increasingly being linked to gang activities.

In the Western Cape, specifically, gang activities are an ongoing feature in the daily functioning of most low-income communities. However, the covert and fluid nature of these groupings make it

difficult to determine membership numbers (Van Wyk, 2001). Estimates of the number of gangs and gang members active in the province vary. Dziewanski (2014) reports on the City of Cape Town's official statistics, according to which a total of 100-120 gangs are operative in the Western Cape, with membership numbers probably falling between 80 000 and 100 000 people. Both the studies conducted by Buthelezi (2012) and Wegner et al. (2016) acknowledge this upper margin, and also place gang membership at about 100 000 individuals, with between 130 or 137 different gangs being active in the Cape Peninsula alone. Similarly, Pinnock (2016) estimates gang membership in the Western Cape to be around 90 000 people strong. Dominant groups of the Western Cape's ganglands mostly constitute street-based merchant gangs such as the Americans, the Hard Livings, the Mongrels, and the Sexy Boys. According to Roloff (2014), these groups form a type of top management tier, with many smaller, turf-based gangs being organised in their domain and jurisdiction.

Street gang members organise actions around their intention to commit crime. In Western Cape communities, this involves drug trafficking as their primary objective (Albertse, 2007). However, gangs also engage in many other instrumental, petty and gratuitous crimes, and general malingering about in their free time. Illegal gang actions that typically transpire on the Cape Flats and in other Western Cape communities include: prostitution and human trafficking syndicates, involvement in illicit markets (e.g., smuggling rhino horn, poaching abalone, and weapon procurement), money laundering, extortion, hired work as hitmen and for other criminal acts, burglary, robbery and hijacking (Albertse, 2007; Lindberg et al., 2011; Pinnock, 2016). Violence is a salient aspect within the dealings of gangs. According to the SAPS (2016), this violence contributes markedly more to the murder count in the Western Cape than other South African provinces (13.4% of Western Cape murders are linked to gang violence, as opposed to only 2.3% of the national murder count). Pinnock (2016) states that the Cape Flats constitute some of the most dangerous neighbourhoods in the world. Inhabitants of these communities are more likely to die by violent victimisation than inhabitants of communities in

some of the world's active war zones. It is projected that 1 852 of every 100 000 people living in the Western Cape will fall victim to contact crime (Lancaster, 2013).

The prevalence of gang violence in Coloured communities, specifically, is similar to international trends, which indicate that marginalised ethnic groups have a much greater presence in gangs than members of other races and/or cultures (Lindberg et al., 2011). Gangs form and recruit local youths in areas where disintegration of community structures is evident (Roloff, 2014). In the disadvantaged Coloured boroughs of the Western Cape, these circumstances were created by the forced removals of entire communities in Cape Town to the city's outlying areas. According to Pinnock (2016), the group areas removals dissolved Coloured community culture since entire communities were not transferred together. The process left many people in a situation of isolation, poverty, and loss of identity that led to an increase in maladaptive coping strategies, such as gangsterism. Gangs thrived in the chaos of the police force's inability to maintain order and the state's disinterest in protecting and uplifting the newly established "communities" (Pinnock, 2016). The Coloured gang culture established during Apartheid, continues to be sustained today. Poverty remains rampant in Western Cape ghettos. A 2008 survey found that 38% of individuals of an employable age were unemployed and 32% of Western Cape households were living beneath the threshold of absolute poverty. In some of the disadvantaged communities in the province, as many as 95% of inhabitants live in circumstances of absolute poverty (City of Cape Town, 2008). As a result of this entrenched poverty, crime is escalating, and gangs are still one of the only viable means of survival (Pinnock, 2016). The intervention that was explored in this study was aimed at one of Stellenbosch's suburbs that traditionally formed part of the Cape Peninsula's ganglands. Having been designated as a "Coloured" area during Apartheid, poverty is rife, service delivery is lacking, and gangs dominate the area (see for example, Van der Spuy, 2017).

3.3.2 Functions of the gang

In a sense, gangs are a self-contradicting entity. They originate in marginalised communities as a social structure to cope with the pervasive isolation, poverty and fear, but also perpetuate these exact problems (Bubolz & Simi, 2015). In order to understand the power and prevalence of this paradoxical phenomenon, one must understand that gangs serve a function for those involved. Speaking simply of the “choice” of youths to become part of a gang, is ignoring the deeply rooted deprivation and inequality leading to their decision to join. A more balanced understanding considers the high levels of unemployment, poverty, and social instability that translate into a lack of prosocial alternatives and/or resources to protect themselves (Vigil, 2008). It acknowledges that poor communities are an incubator for delinquent reactions to the relative deprivation and isolation community members experience (Pinnock, 2016). Gangs lure individuals, especially adolescents, because they manage to provide for their specific needs in a way that all other social institutions in their community have failed to do (Voisin et al., 2014). Youths join gangs as the gang provides them with a sense of belonging, avenues for survival (material provision and physical protection), and access to entertainment, status or power (Goodwill, 2009; Saavedra, 2015). The gang also provides a clearly delineated group identity for the individual to assimilate. This is attractive for the adolescent dealing with exceptionally salient issues regarding identity formation and peer group acceptance (Pinnock, 2016). Drawing from this view, some authors consider gang involvement to be a normal teenage response to poverty and marginalisation (Albertse, 2007; Van Wyk, 2001).

Adolescent girls, similar to adolescent boys, join gangs to fulfil their unsatisfied needs for social engagement and to provide for their material needs. A study conducted by Saavedra (2015) about female adolescents involved in gangs, found that gangs address the psychological and social needs of girls. They provide a sense of belonging and peer-esteem, which ultimately contribute to a sense of self-worth. Additionally, women interviewed by Aguilar Umaña and Rikkers (2012) stated

that gangs gave them access to money, protection from crime in the community and an escape from home conflict and/or violence.

However, the reasons motivating gang involvement are both complex and personal (Moore & Hagedorn, 2001). Different intersections of risk translate into different needs and functions for the gang to fulfil in each individual life. An understanding of the uniqueness of each situation is necessary for tailoring effective interventions.

3.3.3 Predisposing factors and gang entanglement

Entry into gangs occur through different avenues and becoming part of a gang tends to be a gradual process rather than a single event (Densley, 2012). Goodwill (2009) identifies several different categories of gang-predisposing behaviour. The first category entails the specific events and behaviours which often precipitate gang membership, such as engagement in physical violence, imprisonment, behavioural cycles marked by wild partying, substance abuse and rebellion against authorities. The second category considers the predisposing psychological and social issues, for example, a lack of self-worth or social and familial support, and living contexts marked by fear (Goodwill, 2009). Lastly, there are also macro-level factors ingrained in the existence of marginalised communities, which create a disposition towards gang-involvement. The status and sense of normality associated with gangs in these communities, as well as their ability to provide what community members lack in a material sense, mean that community members are both reliant on and in awe of gang members. This draws individuals, especially adolescents, into gang membership (Goodwill, 2009).

Many youths are born into families with strong traditions of gang involvement (Pinnock, 2016). Family members who actively participate in gangs, serve to expose and assimilate youths into the gang culture from a young age (Sutton, 2017). Similar socialisation takes place when youths grow up in a gang-saturated neighbourhood (Pinnock, 2016). In one local study, Van Wyk (2001) found this

frequent exposure to gang-involved peers as the factor contributing the most to youth's decisions to become involved with gangs. For adolescents (especially those from marginalised contexts), there is an almost irresistible attraction to gangs and the gang culture that promises wealth, status, and connections (Pinnock, 2016; Van Wyk, 2001). However, most gang members never attain these benefits, which are reserved for the top tiers of gang management. The bulk of ordinary gang members remain poor and marginalised (Pinnock, 2016).

Once members are officially part of the gangs, they most often cannot get out (Pinnock, 2016). Most research indicates that it is extremely difficult for gang members to disentangle themselves from the gang structure (Van Wyk, 2001; Webber, 2017). Although some have contradicted this view (see Howell, 2007; Sutton, 2017), the majority of the literature indicates that leaving without a gang-approved motivation is considered betrayal and will be (violently) reprimanded (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). "Valid" reasons for exit are scarce and entirely up to the judgement of the gang leaders. Both Pinnock (2016) and Wegner et al. (2016) emphasise that death or religious conversion are the only two motivations for exit, which are accepted in Western Cape gang culture.

3.3.4 The gang-subculture: Patriarchy and violence

Gang subculture has a strict patriarchal structure and promotes norms that favour males (Sullivan, 2005). Ideal masculinity in this context is an overly intensified version of hegemonic masculinity. Men are expected to exercise control and assert dominance over subordinates, outsiders and females, using physical domination and forced submission where necessary (Parkes, 2007). Violence and aggression are thus intentionally fostered and highly valued by members of local street gangs (Wegner et al., 2016).

In the gang context, femininity is viewed as weakness and often evokes contempt (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). Ideal femininity is stereotyped as submission to maltreatment by men, subordination, and domestic servitude (Vigil, 2008). Violating these norms labels a girl for even worse

devaluating and disrespectful treatment (Vigil, 2008). In some cases, she may even be punished by her male counterparts for such behaviour. Sexual abuse, especially rape, is often used as a means of “correcting” female behaviour that challenges patriarchal norms (Sutton, 2017). Male domination is established by treating girls as nothing more than bodies, or objects, at the service of men (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). Even if they have been accepted into the gang’s social circle, they remain possessions for sexual and household use, rather than actual members (Nydegger et al., 2017). Sexual objectification of females is normative in gang life and, as predicted by objectification theory, this leads to frequent exploitation of girls and women for sexual satisfaction (Vasquez et al., 2017). A distressing example of this is the practice of girls being required to *give train*, which is found in male-dominated gangs across the world (see Densley, 2012; Finney, 2007; Harrington et al., 2000; Molidor, 1996; UK Centre for Social Justice, 2014; Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012). During this practice, the female is convinced or physically forced to have sex with multiple gang members, one after the other, often in the presence of the entire gang. Girls are forced to give train as an initiation rite to get into the gang, and as punishment for perceived disrespects to male dominance.

However, sexual misuse is not the only way that females are negatively impacted by the gangs’ objectification of their bodies. According to Aguilar Umaña and Rikkers (2012), verbal, physical, and psychological abuse of females in the gang context is normative, and guarantees the male domination that the patriarchal structure hinges on. Furthermore, the risk of sexual and violent victimisation is present within and outside of the gang. Females are often targeted by rival gangs seeking revenge from the gang or specific gang members (Pinnock, 2016). Sutton (2017) emphasises the pathologically patriarchal underpinning of such a practice, which sees women primarily as weak targets and tools to achieve male objectives of revenge and domination.

Females in gang contexts largely accept such treatment from men (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). The difficulty of their home and community circumstances combined with cultural romanticising of gangs, cause them to idealise gang membership and rationalise gross abuse and

injustices committed by male members (Harrington et al., 2000). Vigil (2008) views the lack of female opposition to the gang patriarchy's oppression as an indication of how women have accepted and internalised its devaluation. Although there is some truth in this view, it fails to consider the lack of agency that females in these contexts have. Opposition to the oppressive norms of gang patriarchy might lead to violent victimisation, or even death (UNHCR, 2010). Thus, in a warped attempt at self-preservation, these women wilfully accept subordination and male oppression.

3.3.5 Girls and gangs

Internationally, female gang membership is estimated to comprise up to 30% of all gangs (Sutton, 2017). Locally, no official records exist to inform a comparative estimate.

The function of girls in gangs involve providing sexual services and partaking in economic crimes. Males exclude females from almost all core gang activities (Sutton, 2017). Female displays of violence and involvement in fights with other gangs are largely discouraged (Gover et al., 2009). By restricting females' enactment of violent behaviour and criminal activities, males cut them off from the patriarchal system's prescribed avenues in to status and power in the gang (Sutton, 2017). Girls usually fulfil supportive roles in the gang. These include smuggling drugs and weapons, obtaining information and handling communications, shoplifting and selling goods for the gang, or luring rivals into traps (Harrington et al., 2000; Pinnock, 2016). Outside of these auxiliary functions, they are relegated to the "female" arenas of caring, household labour, and looking good (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). However, exceptions to this rule are becoming increasingly common in the local context (Pinnock, 2016)

Girls can attain gang membership status by joining a co-ed street gang, or by forming an all-female gang. However, true gang membership is not easily granted to females in mixed gender gangs. More often, girls are just allowed to hang out around the gang in exchange for sexual favours, without ever being afforded true membership status (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012). Even in all-female

gangs, females function as subservient to the men of this patriarchal subculture. Overwhelmingly, girl gangs are not true gangs that function separately or for their own purposes. They largely exist from and for known male street gangs and fulfil auxiliary functions for the men of these gangs (Pinnock, 2016). Although they are allowed some measure of independence, they are still under the ultimate control and regulation of the larger male gang (Harrington et al., 2000). Male gangs own the turf, and female gangs are merely allowed to conduct their operations on it (Nimmo, 2001).

3.3.6 Consequences and effects

Gangsterism has a disruptive effect on the lives of communities and individuals. Gangs are not just involved in deviant and criminal behaviours, but they also frequently execute these in an excessively violent and aggressive manner (Lenzi et al., 2015). Bystanders and members alike often come in the line of fire or fists, and are evidently hurt or even killed (Pinnock, 2016). The ever-present fear of being victimised corrodes the community well-being and may lead to a range of individual psychological difficulties, including continuous stress disorder (Kaminer, Eagle, & Crawford-Browne, 2016). Furthermore, gangs make illicit substances, such as drugs, available to community members and actively encourage addiction (Pinnock, 2016).

Gang members themselves have a risk for violent victimisation which is two and a half times higher than that of non-gang affiliated individuals from the same neighbourhoods (Sutton, 2017) and are vulnerable to an array of threats to their well-being. Gang involvement often leads to death at a young age (Wegner et al., 2016). Gilman, Hill and Hawkins (2014) found greater rates of reported ill-health amongst adolescents involved in gangs than amongst their non-gang peers. Sexually transmitted diseases and various mental health concerns are especially prevalent. Petering (2016) also observed suicidal and homicidal thoughts and/or behaviour, hallucinations and delusions in a sample of gang-identifying individuals. Gang members have been found to exhibit more problematic externalising behaviours (such as extreme aggression and violence), as well as unhealthy internalising behaviours (including anxiety, concerns about their own safety, fear, paranoia, powerlessness, and depression)

(Lenzi et al., 2015; Petering, 2016). In terms of behavioural problems, gang membership increases the risk for alcohol and drug abuse, involvement in drug trafficking and other criminal behaviour, educational difficulties and school drop-out, and sexual risk-behaviour (Lenzi et al., 2015; Nydegger et al., 2017; Voisin et al., 2014). Gang-affiliated youth are 592% more likely to engage in deviant and criminal behaviours than the non-gang affiliated youth (Sutton, 2017). Prospectively, adolescent gang membership interferes with normal psycho-social development, impedes positive outcomes (such as employability, vocational stability, educational attainment and marital success), and is correlated with criminal behaviour later in life (Gilman et al., 2014).

Regarding those who are closely related to gang members, Petering (2016) asserts that such relationships put individuals at risk in ways similar to actual gang involvement. Gang members' children have an increased likelihood of being caught up in an intergenerational cycle of poverty, crime and gang involvement (Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012). Rival gang members seeking revenge, target those who are linked to their enemies (UK Centre for Social Justice, 2014). Abductions, beatings, rape, and murder of gang members' close relations are a common part of inter-gang rivalries. They often target female family members or partners (Sutton, 2017). Furthermore, gang involvement on the part of a romantic partner infers on females the same sexual risks as experienced by the gang-involved partner. It also increases her chances of substance misuse, experiencing abuse, and psychopathology (such as depression or posttraumatic stress disorder) (King et al., 2015).

In addition to the general adverse effects that gangs have on the health and well-being of those involved, girls experience a host of unique vulnerabilities and risks due to gang involvement. Psychologically, research indicates that gang-associated females often suffer from self-esteem issues and regularly develop self-harming behaviours (Keogh, 2014). Behaviourally, research found that girls who are part of gangs tend to exhibit an array of sexual risk behaviours (Voisin et al., 2014). The norm in gang culture is to be sexually active from a young age (Moloney, Hunt, Joe-Laidler, & Mackenzie, 2011). However, considering the possibility of pregnancy, such behaviour has more severe

consequences for women (Vigil, 2008). Gang-affiliation greatly increases the likelihood of teenage pregnancy and motherhood (Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012). A review of the literature also reveals a cogent risk for females to be raped, to experience sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, and associated detriments to reproductive health (Nydegger et al., 2017; Sutton, 2017). Not only are girls in this context frequently pressured into having sex with their gang-affiliated boyfriends (Moloney et al., 2011), they also tend to be viewed as belonging to the entire gang, not just one individual (Webber, 2017). The impact of unequal gender norms and power dynamics is clear in the way that girls are exposed to physical and psycho-emotional damage during coerced sexual encounters and not afforded the agency to negotiate condom use or refuse sex (King et al., 2015). Furthermore, according to Raiford, Wingood and DiClemente (2007), the violent and sexist nature of gang culture increases the risk for intimate partner violence to be perpetrated against the girls and women. Some gangs run illicit prostitution businesses and human trafficking trades (Sutton, 2017). Locally, Vetten (2000) and Pinnock (2016) outlined a picture similar to the global trend. According to Vetten (2000), young women in South Africa are victimised by gangs and individual gang members in an “appalling variety of ways”; most notably through sexual exploitation and rape.

3.4 Interventions

3.4.1 Existing interventions

Different levels of intervention are possible (and needed) to address community level gangsterism, according to Radebe (2012): *Primary interventions* focus on prevention for those at risk, and who do not yet exhibit the problem behaviour. *Secondary interventions* are treatment-based and focus on early identification and intervention in order to alleviate the effects of being involved and buffer the individual against possible negative outcomes. *Tertiary interventions* are based on rehabilitation from serious involvement and are aimed at minimising long-term impact and the possibility of relapse. Goodwill (2009) adds a fourth level, namely *suppression*. Suppression strategies include law enforcement activities and punitive approaches aimed at identifying and removing gang

members from communities. This is the approach most commonly used in attempts to address community-level gangsterism (Lindberg et al., 2011), but it has not garnered much success (Goodwill, 2009). A combination of prevention, intervention, and suppression is needed to comprehensively address any community's gang problem (Howell, 2007). However, when considered in isolation, primary (preventative) interventions have proven to be the greatest impact on community gangsterism, both globally and in South Africa (Buthelezi, 2012; Pyrooz, 2014).

Research found that preventative interventions work when they fulfil the unmet needs that cause youths to turn to gangs (Buthelezi, 2012; Van Wyk, 2001). Furthermore, according to Fabrik (2007), adult guidance, or mentoring, is an important feature in youth-focused intervention programmes. Parents in gang-saturated contexts are often absent and/or overwhelmed, unaware, or ill-equipped to deal with their children's risk for gang involvement (Aldridge et al., 2011). As such, interventions for youth at risk to gangsterism should also include parental intervention and training (Lenzi et al., 2015), and provide alternatives for mentoring and guidance when parents cannot fulfil these functions (Nimmo, 2001). However, such guidance should acknowledge that being too prescriptive to adolescents will impede the effectiveness of the intervention (Pinnock, 2016). Acknowledging youths' agency by actively including them in programme planning, implementation, and assessment is a key element of constructing an impacting, yet "cool" (i.e., relatable and relevant to their age group) intervention (Buthelezi, 2012).

The literature describes some preventative interventions that have proven successful in targeting youth at risk in gang-plagued communities. One of the most renowned is the American-based Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) programme targeted at early adolescents. The G.R.E.A.T. programme incorporates a cognitive-behavioural approach, where uniformed law enforcement personnel provide knowledge regarding the risks of gang-involvement and social skills training in the school context (Goodwill, 2009). Another American programme, Operation Peacekeeper, partners with community members and law enforcement to provide gang-involved and

at-risk youth with the support and resources they might otherwise seek in getting involved in gangs. It utilises a relational model which focuses on mentoring of the youth and partnerships with key role players (for example, schools and teachers) (Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012). In Canada, the Montreal Preventive Treatment Programme is a primary intervention programme targeting Aboriginal boys who exhibit early problem behaviour (Howell, 2007). Although not explicitly aimed at preventing gang involvement, the intervention has proved to effectively reduce gang-involvement and related delinquency through an early focus on coaching, role building, reinforcement, self-instruction, and peer modelling (Goodwill, 2009; Howell, 2007).

However, developing countries in Latin America, are more similar to South Africa than Canada and America. In these countries, there are fewer documented interventions. UNICEF runs some intervention programmes aimed at preventing youths from forming or joining gangs in these countries. For example, one of their interventions aims to lessen the risk of school learners being recruited into street gangs. The organisation partners with local municipalities to identify, monitor and re-enrol adolescents from gang-plagued communities who drop out of school (UNICEF, 2017).

In South Africa, there is also little formal knowledge to guide preventative interventions for youth at risk to gangsterism in the local context (Gevers & Flisher, 2012).

One local NGO that often deals with individuals who have been victimised by gangs, is The Ihata shelter for women and children. The NGO is based in the Cape Flats and focuses on intervention with and prevention of gender-based violence (Ihata, n.d.-a). The shelter provides housing and/or support for battered women, with services that include educational and therapeutic programmes, skills developments workshops and counselling support (Ihata, n.d.-b). Ihata also hosts a “Sisters Sitting Sentences” programme for women at a local correctional facility, which aims to promote rehabilitation and prevent re-offending in female inmates (Ihata, n.d.-c).

In terms of explicitly gang-focused interventions, Usiko Stellenbosch, the Chrysalis Academy, the Ruben Richards foundation, and the efforts of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offender (NICRO) have been notable. The Chrysalis Academy is an initiative of the Western Cape Provincial government. Chrysalis runs a three-month-long live-in prevention programme for young men and women between the ages of 17 and 25, with a supporting five year-long follow-up structure (Western Cape Government, 2018a). The programme focuses on holistic development and empowerment through a strictly disciplined regimen of life skills training, leadership development, ecotherapy, community service, and post-programme access to support services and information (Safer Spaces, 2018).

The Ruben Richards foundation utilises a whole-community approach to addressing gangsterism. The foundation attempts to intervene with broader societal issues, as well as individual problems and employs a four-pronged approach, involving therapy, peace building, community development and job creation in the secondary and tertiary interventions, which they implement in some of the most violent gang-areas around Cape Town (The Ruben Richards Foundation, 2018a). Their remedial approach focuses on providing support to those involved in gangs (e.g. specialised counselling, art therapy, and resilience training), and the development of skills to better equip those already affected by gangs in order to deal with relevant challenges (social cohesion seminars with community leaders, conflict mediation with gang leaders, and sexual health education) (The Ruben Richards Foundation, 2017, 2018b, 2018c). Their rehabilitation efforts provide family-focused development plans, livelihoods training and career programmes to connect ex-gang members with a social network and opportunities to alleviate their need for gang-involvement (The Ruben Richards Foundation, 2017, 2018b).

NICRO is the main NGO targeting crime prevention and providing youth diversion services in South Africa (Western Cape Government, 2018b). The Cape Town-based organisation runs five “Turn Around” diversion programmes aimed at juvenile offenders over all nine provinces. These include

short term and long term life-skills training programmes, pre-trial community service exposure for young offenders, and reconciliation and mediation between offenders and victims, and offenders and their families (NICRO, 2016; Western Cape Government, 2018b). Amongst these, is “The Journey”; a three to twelve month-long diversion programme for high-risk youth. This programme combines group-based life skills training and vocational development with wilderness therapy and follow up mentoring (Botha, 2007).

Similarly, Usiko Stellenbosch runs a court-based diversion programme and school-based development projects aimed at youth from gang plagued communities around Stellenbosch (Naidoo, Zygmunt, & Philips, 2017). According to Alkana (2006), these programmes are intended to support youth at risk, and guide them as they navigate the transition into adulthood. To do so, Usiko utilises a group approach that also includes ecotherapy, rites of passage, mentorship and volunteer work (Botha, 2007). In their school-based programme, Usiko works with male and female adolescents referred by teachers at local schools (Anthonissen, 2011). This intensive 18-month programme involves weekly meetings in a group format. Sessions cover content that centres around prevention and personal development (focusing on issues such as self-esteem, identity, personal development, and planning for the future) and are enhanced by wilderness sessions at the beginning and the end of the programme (Anthonissen, 2011). The court-based diversion programme has a similar format but entails different discussion foci and runs over a period of only 2 months. In this programme’s weekly group sessions, they receive life skills and anger management training, discuss issues relevant to their context, and experiences that are ongoing in their lives (Knoetze, 2003). In addition to this, the court-base diversion incorporates a wilderness excursion, community service volunteering, and livelihood skills training (Botha, 2007). Parents and mentors from the community are involved in the implementation of both programmes. Adult volunteers receive training to become mentors in the programme, and are assigned to specific programme graduates to continue supporting these youths (Naidoo et al., 2017).

Unfortunately, these existing interventions are mostly directed at males only, and are based on research from an almost exclusively male database (O’Neal, Decker, Moule, & Pyrooz, 2016; Sutton, 2017). To address the a lack of focus on girls, Usiko Stellenbosch, Ihata Shelter for Abused Women and the Ruben Richards foundation recently formed a partnership that aims to develop interventions for females involved with gangs on different levels (De Souza & Daniels, 2018). This foundation forms part of the GIGI project, an international initiative funded by Comic Relief. The GIGI project brief sought to promote intervention work that would contribute to three levels of support for females at risk to gangs: firstly, to reduce young women and girls’ likelihood of joining gangs; secondly, to buffer gang-involved females against the harms that they are vulnerable to; and, thirdly, to support and promote gang exit (Nkem, 2016). As part of this initiative, the UWWV and Usiko Women with Strength (UWWS) programmes were developed during 2017 to address the needs of females at risk in the Stellenbosch area (De Souza & Daniels, 2018).

3.4.2 Usiko and the Women with Vision programme

Usiko has undertaken the development of two programmes for young females affected by gangsterism. The UWWV programme is aimed at late adolescent school girls who are at risk to gangsterism, but not yet directly involved in gangs. This programme has a preventative orientation and aims to buffer girls against the contextual risk factors that would lead to their becoming involved in gangs (De Souza, 2017). The UWWS programme is a secondary/tertiary intervention, aimed at young adult females with established gang involvement or histories of criminal activities that would make them vulnerable to gang involvement (De Souza, 2017). The focus of the UWWS programme is to help victimised women to recover from gang-related experiences and prepare them to live lives that are independent from their former gang-reliance (De Souza & Daniels, 2018). Both the UWWV and UWWS programmes are structured along the lines of Usiko’s typical wilderness-based rites of passage programme. This thesis gives specific attention to the UWWV programme, and I will therefore describe its application in more detail.

The UWWV programme formed part of Usiko's array of school-based preventative interventions in 2017. In the pilot cycle of the programme, 19 girls at risk were identified by teachers at their local high school and referred to participate in the programme. Participation in the programme was entirely voluntary but required a degree of commitment from the participants. Twelve girls committed to take part in UWWV for a period of nine months (C. Jooste, personal communication, 4 September 2018). In this time, they met as a group on a weekly basis, to discuss salient life issues and receive support from the two social workers facilitating the programme. Meetings took place at their local high school, in the Usiko offices and in nature-settings around Stellenbosch (De Souza, 2017). In addition to their weekly meetings, the girls also participated in different activities aimed at improving their social and personal skills and equipping them to withstand the pressure towards gang involvement that is salient in their community (De Souza & Daniels, 2018). These activities included: projective exercises with playdough, music and drama; talking about their past and their home experiences; educational and career-guidance sessions; excursions to the beach, an ice skating arena; and two wilderness camps, where they engaged in reflective and team building exercises. Mentors from the community attended the camps and also some of the sessions. After the termination of the programme, monthly group-based follow up sessions continued for a further nine months, and each girl was also assigned a mentor for continued support.

With this and other interventions, Usiko focuses on creating emotionally and physically safe spaces for youths to express themselves, whilst also giving them access to opportunities and resources for further development and success. Often, it is near impossible to create such a space in the context of fear and deprivation that intervention participants live in (Pinnock, 2016). The organisation works around this problem by utilising the natural environment as a therapeutic space. Ecotherapy, in the form of wilderness excursions, is a key component in Usiko's youth programmes and was also central to the UWWV programme's structure.

Usiko utilises two types of ecotherapy processes. The first is a base-camp wilderness intervention, which typically takes place close to the start of the programme (Anthonissen, 2011). At the base-camp, participants are introduced to the natural setting and the ecological practices and principles that pertain to it (Naidoo et al., 2017). They participate in team building activities and reflection exercises, which culminate into a solo excursion of six to eight hours (Botha, 2007). During this time, the participant is alone in nature, with no contact with the outside world or other participants, and no indication of how much time has passed (Anthonissen, 2011). She receives a notebook and is encouraged to reflect deeply on a specific question(s). Naidoo and colleagues (2017) state that during the solo excursion, the participant gets the chance to reflect on and consolidate learnings from the programme, and also to self-determine if and how they will allow these to motivate change in their own lives. Throughout the camp, and particularly after the solo excursion, the facilitators scaffold the participants' learning by supporting them throughout the activities and debriefing each process thoroughly. This helps them relate and apply what they have learnt during activities to their own lives (Naidoo et al., 2017).

The second ecotherapy process is typically a shorter wilderness-based expedition, such as a hike. On the excursion, facilitators and participants partake in shared nature-based challenges (Anthonissen, 2011). Forming relationships and working collaboratively is the main objective of these processes, with reflection now taking place on a personal level for the participant and not being scaffolded as much by facilitators (Botha, 2007).

This wilderness-based approach is adopted by Usiko in different programmes for a number of reasons. Its' flexible nature is particularly useful, as it can be moulded to fit a variety of programme goals and participant needs. In the UWWV, wilderness-based programming is utilised to expose participants to the therapy of nature and to promote processes of reflection, conscientisation, dialogue and collaboration with others, leading to individual and collective empowerment (Naidoo et al., 2017). These excursions serve protective and promotive functions for at risk youth (Botha, 2007). Naidoo and

colleagues (2017) describe how nature-based programmes provide opportunities for the acquisition and practice of skills (such as problem-solving and self-discipline), resulting in higher levels of environmental and self-mastery for the individual. Pertaining to the UWWV programme specifically, nature-based programmes have been found to be especially beneficial for girls, as these offer a context where gender stereotypes are less salient (Anthonissen, 2011) and may be challenged as girls explore, overcome challenges, and get to know themselves in this new context (Naidoo et al., 2017). More broadly, wilderness camps address issues relating to participants' relationships with others in their communities, their society, and their ecological context (Naidoo et al., 2017). They facilitate collective growth and the healthy involvement amongst participants, which translates into community empowerment (Naidoo et al., 2017).

The use of ecotherapy in Usiko's work, is closely linked to their focus on ritual. Undergoing the solo experience is seen as a rite of passage by members of the community and the participants. Upon their return, participants are received and acknowledged as being "different" by their mentors and parents (Anthonissen, 2011). According to Pinnock (2016), this makes an immense contribution to the adolescents' establishment of a positive sense of identity. Another ritual that affirms the participants' personhood and worth, is the process of checking in and checking out. The check-in is a tradition in Usiko group processes, where each participant is given a chance to share who they are and where they are at regarding a specific question posed to the group at the start of the session. Typically, this question will pertain to how they are doing. When they are done answering, the participants say that they check-in/-out, and the entire group replies with "Is ja!", to indicate they listened (Anthonissen, 2011). Other aspects of Usiko's typical approach include mentorship, rituals, group discussions and/or activities, work experience and volunteering in the community (Fabrik, 2007). Evaluations conducted of the approach that Usiko uses in these have also been favourable (see Anthonissen, 2011; Fabrik, 2007; Knoetze, 2003; Marais, Donson, Naidoo, & Nortje, 2007; Naidoo et al., 2017), thus this approach was used as a starting framework for the UWWV pilot cycle.

While the UWWV project drew from Usiko's existing knowledge and expertise in intervening with boys from this age and risk-group, girls at risk are a novel target population for the organisation. To ensure that the programme structure and content is gender-specific and appropriate for the group, validation studies are needed.

3.4.3 Exploring participants' experiences of intervention programmes

Usiko describes assessment of programmes as one of its foundational objectives, as this facilitates continuous development and improvement of their efforts (Fabrik, 2007). This is especially relevant for the UWWV programme, as it is still in the initial phases of development and pilot testing, and there is very little research pertaining to the specific context and population available to inform such an intervention.

Judgements regarding the usefulness of a programme are obtained through the relation of programme characteristics to a clear set of ideals or an expected standard, in a structured and systematic manner (Scileppi, Teed, & Torres, 2000). This process is mostly conducted as a form of applied research (be it quantitative or qualitative in nature), the results of which are used to assess the programme and inform decisions regarding its design and content. Outcomes of such investigations are also an important avenue of feedback to the local community, key stakeholders and programme funders (Naidoo & Van Wyk, 2003).

Programme efficacy is considered in terms of four main aspects (Scileppi et al., 2000):

1. Attainment of programme goals.
2. Implementation of the intervention.
3. Programme outcomes – i.e. immediate benefits derived from participation.
4. Programme's impact – i.e. long-term benefits derived from participation.

In considering the UWWV programme, exploration of the intervention's usefulness will consider whether the overarching goal of preventing gang involvement among programme participants

was met by offering prosocial alternatives to address the needs that may lead to gang involvement. The implementation process will be assessed from the perspective of the participants, considering whether they found the programme to be well-executed, relatable and relevant to their needs. Programme outcomes and impact will be assessed by relating what girls perceived to have gained from the programme to the short and long-term aims that the programme developers had in mind. For the UWWV programme, these included: personal growth and development of a sense of self-awareness; establishing social support and a sense of belonging; creating a safer environment for the girls; and reducing the girls' risk by encouraging and enabling healthier lifestyle choices (De Souza, 2017).

In conclusion, this chapter has described the specific amalgamation of factors that place adolescent girls distinctly at risk to gangsterism. It illustrated the need for interventions aimed at this group and constructed an evidence-base for current and future interventions to consider. This was put forth as a framework for assessing the UWWV programme's efficacy. In Chapter 4, I discuss how exploration of the programme's usefulness to participants was operationalised through CBPR and specific methodologies.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methods are used to address research questions that require explanation or understanding of social phenomena and their contexts. They are particularly well suited to exploring issues that hold some complexity and to studying processes that occur over time.

(Snape & Spencer, 2003, p.5)

4.1 Introduction

In order to study the phenomenon of gangsterism as it relates to adolescent girls at risk in disadvantaged South African communities, a qualitative approach and CBPR design was used. This chapter expands on the qualitative and community psychology approaches. It also describes the CBPR research design and how this was practically applied in the study. Furthermore, it includes a description of the sampling strategy, data collection processes and procedures used in the data analysis. I also consider methodological issues pertinent to the qualitative approach, such as reliability and validity, and discuss ethical considerations that were salient in the study.

4.2 Research Design

4.2.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative methods explore and explain the complex social realities that exist in different contexts. It produces outputs that involve in-depth descriptions and/or explanations (Snape & Spencer, 2003). According to Stangor (2015), these approaches are underpinned by the ontological assumption that human experience is too complex, multi-faceted and dynamic to be quantifiable (i.e., reduced). Epistemologically, qualitative research assumes that social reality can only be studied through the active involvement of the researcher in naturalistic settings, producing rich data and contextualised interpretations (Creswell, 2014).

A constructivist, qualitative approach was chosen for this study as its flexible nature complemented the explorative nature of the topic, and it aimed to hear the voices of the participants. It was deemed suitable to provide an in-depth understanding of the subjective experiences of the participants of the UWWV intervention programme and aspects of their lived experiences. The study was structured along the lines of action and participatory research (Creswell, 2007), as the ultimate purpose was for the collective research process to inform programme development. More specifically, a CBPR design was adopted.

4.2.2 The community psychology approach and community-based participatory research

In 2017, I joined the GIGI project development team at Usiko as a co-researcher and consultant for their UWWV and UWWS interventions. The current study of the UWWV programme evolved from my involvement in those capacities. My academic interest, combined with the need for formal feedback on programme outcomes, led to my involvement in this community-based research project at the start of 2018. I joined different members from this community, such as the community-based NGO (Usiko), facilitators, and mentors, and the UWWV participants, and started to collectively generate knowledge regarding the influence of gangs on the girls in their community, and possible ways to intervene with this.

There was an awareness of the project co-existing on two levels, namely in terms of the intervention objective on one level, and the research objectives on the other. There were inevitable tensions in linking these levels while endeavouring to maintain a CBPR approach. Navigating power dynamics between different role players and regarding different outcomes, resulted in a myriad of tensions. These included, for example, dynamics regarding the intervention team versus the research team, Usiko staff versus external consultants, and staff versus mentors, and it necessitated a sensitive approach. In this regard, I contributed academic knowledge that could guide research and inform intervention approaches. It was incorporated into the collaboration with the NGO, in an attempt to reciprocally empower all of our work (Marais et al., 2007). Regarding my engagement with community

partners, I was particularly aware of the power imbalances that typically enter the relationship when one party is viewed as “qualified” or “educated” and the other not (see Lazarus et al., 2014; Naidoo & Van Wyk, 2003). Working on establishing equality and respect was an ongoing focus in my community involvement. Marais and colleagues (2007) described how such efforts to redistribute power in university-community partnerships enhance project effectiveness and sustainability, facilitate greater participation by community members and lead to empowerment on a broader scale than the immediate project. They recommend that ongoing dialogue and feedback regarding processes is initiated in an attempt to ensure that all parties’ expectations are voiced, their needs met and relational tensions addressed (Marais et al., 2007). During the intervention’s design and implementation, an interdisciplinary research group was established and met on a regular basis to discuss the project and provide formative feedback regarding the intervention’s impacts. In this phase, I shared readings from existing research on gangs and interventions for females, whilst staff members shared wisdom from past interventions. Mentors and facilitators shared their experiences with the girls and the group combined resources to approach the project in a holistic and multi-faceted way. After the programme’s conclusion, I consulted with programme directors and funding managers at Usiko Stellenbosch to establish what the joint focus of our research should be. Wherever my research processes could be translated into community-based decisions and processes, I involved community partners. NGO-members facilitated or co-facilitated all the group discussions and provided inputs for the types of questions that the interviews had to explore with participants. During the data collection phase, one of the participants was also approached to become involved as a research assistant. She helped with recruitment processes and participant checking of analyses and interpretation. She was also provided with introductory training regarding research processes and opportunities to become involved in future cycles of the UWWV programme as a mentor and contributor to programme development. Our relationship commended me to other participants and helped me to further develop the rapport I had established with them whilst volunteering at camps.

More than just being a collaborative effort, the research project was conducted with the objective of co-learning by researcher and community alike (Collins et al., 2018). I wanted to affirm the value of the lived experiences of the participants that the research aimed to explore and provide an opportunity to voice their experiences. The types of co-learnings that evolved from these partner-relationships with community members were not exclusively academic. Notably, involvement fostered a critical reflexivity regarding actual issues (relating to gangsterism) for all of those involved and forced us to think what our involvement with these issues is and should be. The project also enabled participants to take action in order to generate and sustain positive change in their community regarding these issues (Lazarus et al., 2014).

The research project was founded upon the paradigmatic assumption that community psychology is not a rigid system of prescribed scientific conduct, but rather a diverse range of ever-changing approaches. Our design and approaches evolved, based on what all the involved parties could provide and needed, using CBPR as a guiding process, rather than a strict design (similar approaches can be found in Lazarus et al. (2014) and Lazarus et al. (2015)).

Action research emphasises partnerships with local communities to affect change that is empowering and sustainable because it actively involves the community and utilises existing strengths and resources (Lazarus, Taliep, et al., 2017). CBPR is a specific approach in this broader category, which is expressively critical in its orientation (Swart & Bowman, 2007). It seeks to engage in truly transformative relationships with community members (Lazarus et al., 2015) and it provides a framework for equitable collaborations which challenge traditional power discrepancies (Collins et al., 2018). The approach explicitly focuses on the establishment of “participatory competence”, which is a combination of skills, knowledge and attitudes that enable community members to shape both the research project and their community (Malherbe, Suffla, Seedat, & Bawa, 2017). Considering this last aim, CBPR provides clear guidelines for integrating different forms of formal and informal knowledge

and for sharing findings with all the parties involved (see Lazarus, Seedat et al., 2017). This fitted well with the expectations and aims vested in the project from its origin.

In the project, we applied CBPR principles by preparing research spaces where all parties could state what they needed and/or expected from the project (Lazarus et al., 2015). Everyone's inputs were used to create and develop the project into a design that could address both my needs and those of the community. In order to establish genuine relationships with participants and ensure an authentic understanding of the programme and participants' views, I was involved with the project on different levels. I was not just involved as a researcher, but also as a programme developer and facilitator. I also developed relationships with other community members and institutions outside of the programme, which I intend to maintain.

4.3 Participants and Sampling

4.3.1 Sampling procedure

According to Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003), "the precision and rigour of a qualitative research sample is defined by its ability to represent salient characteristics" (p. 82). In line with this, the dataset for the study existed of a combination of archival data, in-depth interviews with programme graduates, and my field notes of observations, including reflections of my involvement in the whole action-research process. These notes captured key non-verbal aspects that I observed in my first-person participation in the research context as well as with the participants (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). They also aided reflexive practices, as it located my reflections regarding the dynamics of interactions and thoughts relating to analytic interpretation within the data set (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003). This helped me to distinguish between the social reality of the participants and the influences of my own subjectivity (Elliott, Ryan, & Hollway, 2012).

The archival data consisted of programme information that pertained to the funding application of the project and four focus group discussions and other reflective group exercises that were

completed by the programme participants, during and after their participation in the UWWV pilot programme in 2017. I obtained permission to review copies of Usiko's archival recordings for my study (see Appendix A) and purposively selected four recordings containing relevant data to analyse, based on the salience of themes related to programme efficacy in the data. In accordance with Scileppi and colleagues' (2000) recommended considerations for programme assessment, these themes considered programme implementation, impacts and outcomes derived from the intervention, and overarching goals of the intervention programme. In constructing the purposive interview sample, all 12 girls who initially enrolled for the UWWV programme in 2017, were considered, but those who could not legally consent to participate were excluded. All eight UWWV 2017 programme participants who were over the age of 18 in August 2018 were invited to participate in the study and they consented to do so.

My involvement at Usiko Stellenbosch and my existing relationships with programme graduates facilitated ease of access to the cohort. Participants were contacted via Whatsapp and invited to take part in interviews. However, I only had three of their numbers to start with, and not all of the programme graduates had cell phones. Snowball sampling was thus used to select and recruit the eight girls who participated in the interview process (Stangor, 2015). During their interviews, I asked the first three participants to contact and recruit other participants, and also to act as the go-between communicating between me and the girls that I did not have direct access to. My community-based research assistant played an invaluable role in this process. The final sample consisted of all eight graduates who were over the age of 18.

4.3.2 Original selection of the UWWV programme participants

The participants of the 2017 UWWV programme were girls from one local community. They were between the ages of 17 and 19 (grade 10 and 11) at the time. The community they came from had sustained reports of high levels of youth gang activity and violent crimes (Botha, 2017; Moses, 2018).

Salient community issues include poverty, crime, overcrowded housing arrangements, illiteracy, unemployment, fatherlessness and marginalisation (Van Wyk, 2001).

All the girls who participated in the UWWV programme in 2017 were enrolled at one local high school. They had been identified by teachers at the school as at a high risk to become involved in gangs but were not, to the knowledge of these informants, already involved with gangsterism (De Souza, 2017). This classification was based on a broad array of factors that the school had through experience come to associate with gang risk. Factors such as disciplinary issues at school, home circumstances of extreme poverty, having a family member who is a known gang member, absent and/or imprisoned fathers, and known drug use, for example, were key contributors to the school staff's decisions of possible participants. The identified girls were then invited by a facilitator from Usiko to join the group and participate in a nine month programme consisting of support meetings and activities to engage with issues they were facing in their lives. Participation was completely voluntary. A total of 12 girls initially enrolled for the programme and all of them completed it. However, one participant chose not to participate in the post-programme support sessions with the group.

4.3.3 Description of sample

The sample consisted of eight girls:

Samantha* lives with her mother and father in an informal housing in her grandmother's yard, which is located in one of the more dangerous parts of their community. She has a brother and sister but does not really have a relationship with either. She is in her matric year (during 2018) and hopes to become a beautician.

Anthea lives with her aunt and uncle down the street from her mother and sister's residence. She does not know her father and feels that her relationship with her mother could improve a lot.

* For the sake of participants' privacy and safety, all names used in this section and the discussions to follow, are pseudonyms.

Having experienced intense trauma and sexual abuse when she was younger, Anthea received support from the UWWV programme to go to a school for females with a history of abuse. She would have finished Grade 11 in 2018 but difficulties with transport and funding led to Anthea dropping out of school.

Rachel is a young girl with great ambition. She is currently (i.e., during 2018) in Grade 12 at the local high school and will be studying education and languages at a university in Cape Town during 2019. She lives with her mother, sister and maternal grandmother in one of the community's most infamous gang-associated streets. Rachel knew her father until his passing in 2017, although he had another family and she was not able to see him much.

Leigh lost her mother at a young age and has an extremely weak relationship with her father, although she knows who he is. She lives with her older brother and younger sister in a house that her mother left them. Leigh reports that circumstances in their house are good, and that her brother provides for them. However, her brother is unemployed, and Leigh is unsure where he gets the money to provide for them. Leigh has two other brothers, one of whom is explicitly involved in gangs. She is currently (2018) in matric and is also considering becoming a beautician.

Miriah is a lively Grade 11 pupil who aspires to do social work or become a psychologist. She lives with her mother and her younger brother. Miriah's father recently passed away, but before that he also lived at home and she had a very close bond with him. She also has an older sister who lives with her boyfriend in the same community, and a grandmother who lives far away but whom she is very close with.

Katie is a matric pupil who hopes to enrol at a college next year (i.e., 2019). Her parents were never married and she lived with her mother in Stellenbosch until this year. She describes her relationship with her mother as being very poor. During 2018, Katie moved out of her mother's house because of their frequent fights. At the time of the interview, she was still living with the friend and

had regular contact with gangs from the area. Her father lives in a community similar to the study community on the outskirts of Cape Town. Katie reports that she has a very good relationship with him and looks forward to living closer to him next year.

Micky is the only sister among five half-brothers. She reports that her mother and her father are not together. Nonetheless, she has relatively good relationships with both her parents. Micky was raised by her grandmother and grandfather who passed away recently. She lives with her grandmother and other family members in her grandmother's house. Micky is currently in Grade 12 and is hoping to apply to a chef school as soon as she obtains her matric results.

Lize is in Grade 11. She was held back a year in 2017 because she was absent too much during a time when she had to look after her sickly grandmother. To ensure that she can finish her school career, Lize lives with her boyfriend's family. His mother took her in due to poor circumstances in her own home. She describes her mother as being a verbally abusive alcoholic, and both her parents are unemployed. She does not have a great relationship with either, although she has been working to improve these relationships. Lize wants to return home as soon as she has finished school.

4.4 Data collection

4.4.1 Data collection methods

Data for the study were collected in two phases. The first entailed the gathering of archival recordings, and the second involved conducting in-depth interviews with the sampled participants.

In the initial phase, archival data were obtained from Usiko and reviewed. These included audio and video recordings of group activities, conversations, and focus group feedback-discussions conducted during and after the 2017 UWWV programme. These were recorded on video or audio recording and kept in Usiko's archives for study and feedback purposes. I decided to use this type of data for its rich content. Discussions conducted in group settings gave a good general idea of salient issues regarding a topic, as it provided a variety of opinions and ideas (Ritchie, 2003). The drawback

of this type of data was that it did not allow for an in-depth exploration of individual contributions (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, since the group data was in the form of archival recordings, issues regarding the relevance and quality (in terms of in-depth coverage of topics salient to the study) were anticipated (Lewis, 2003). The archival group recordings were thus supplemented with open ended, in-depth interviews. This collection method was very useful in providing a nuanced and rich account of the participants' experiences, as I could take issues from the group discussion and explore them in depth with the participants (Bryman, 2012).

The interviews took place at Stellenbosch University's Department of Psychology during August and September 2018, as the participants indicated their preference to be interviewed away from their community. They were recorded using a digital audio recording device and handwritten notes made during the interview. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. I conducted all the interviews myself, as this allowed for close interaction with the participants and a better understanding of their experiences and views. The participants knew me from our prior interactions in the UWWV programme and this made it easier to establish the rapport and trust necessary to open up about difficult topics during the interview. I initially asked participants to tell me about their experience of the programme, where after I allowed them to discuss whatever they wanted to pertaining to this experience. Throughout, I guided the process to stay in line with the broader topic of their experiences of the UWWV programme (Creswell, 2014). From prior reviews of the archival recordings, I had gathered some relevant questions and prompts to start the conversation. I also used photos from different processes in the programme as cues for discussion. Concurrent with conducting the interviews, I started reviewing and analysing the data that had already been gathered. This allowed me to focus the interviews I was still conducting on the exploration of salient issues.

Afrikaans is the dominant language of the participants and was also the language in which the UWWV programme was presented. Interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, to ensure that the participants would be able to express themselves easily and spontaneously in their home language.

Data from both phases of collection were then integrated and submitted to the thematic analysis process as a single data set.

4.4.2 Reflexivity in data collection

As I was closely involved in different capacities throughout this research, continual reflexive consideration of my role was deemed critical. Reflexivity is a critical self-reflection and important in the identification of the elements of one's own makeup that could influence your work as a researcher (Collins et al., 2018).

In the data collection phase, specifically, my prior involvement in the community, interactions with the participants and involvement in the development of the UWWV programme had a definite influence. I had to keep these in mind as I spoke to the girls. In engaging with the girls, I tried to remain non-biased and empathic. This allowed me to gain insights and draw conclusions regarding the larger phenomenon, while creating a safe and non-judgemental space for them to share (Snape & Spencer, 2003). I tried to be very aware of what I expected to hear and focused on not asking leading questions or guiding the conversation in a specific direction. In order to identify prior expectations that could influence my work, I recorded my thoughts before each interview. I also held a reflection session and noted down salient thoughts and feelings after each interview, to monitor my internal state regarding the research and in response to the (often upsetting) stories that the girls were sharing.

My involvement in this project was motivated by caring, and I chose to become involved with the community psychology approach, as it allowed personal involvement with the very real issues that real people are facing in communities not far from my own. However, because of this orientation, I was often confronted with difficult emotions as I reflected on the project and processed the participants' stories. I was struck by my own naïveté as I realised that I had been largely ignorant to the dealings and impacts of gangs in most local boroughs. As a white, middle class woman, I had never needed to engage with the problem of gangsterism in disadvantaged Coloured neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, reviewing the research findings and listening to the participants' accounts was emotionally draining and upsetting. At times I found myself needing to debrief secondary trauma that I had sustained from listening to descriptions of the experiences and personal contexts of the girls. Continually reflecting on my research practice through journals and per debriefings enabled me to conduct each interview with a greater measure of professional objectivity (Elliott et al., 2012), and to practice reflexive self-care when needed (Egan, 2007).

4.5 Data Analysis

4.5.1 Thematic analysis

The data collected from Usiko's archives and during the interviews were transcribed verbatim and in its original language format. I transcribed most of the data myself but enlisted the help of transcribers for two of the group processes and three of the interviews. Thereafter, I subjected the transcripts to inductive thematic analysis, in accordance with recommendations by Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya and Willan (2015). Thematic analysis was chosen as analytic method due to its potential to provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of the data. In order to comprehensively explore participants' experiences of programme outcomes, an inductive analytic approach was used. No predefined set of codes or themes were used to conduct the analysis. I allowed themes to emerge from the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The analysis process was performed according to the guidelines for thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The process entails six broadly defined and iterative steps: (1) getting to know the data; (2) coding sections of data that can be identified as basic units of meaning; (3) generating a preliminary and tentative set of themes; (4) reviewing the themes and their relations to each other; (5) giving each theme an identifying name; and (6) reporting on the findings. In the analyses for this study, I listened to all recordings, transcribed it and thereafter read and reread the transcriptions to get a clear and comprehensive picture of the contents. I also made notes of potential codes and salient issues that I picked up in the data, and which I kept at hand to inform the processes

to follow. During the second step, I coded all notable phrases in the dataset. I allowed the literature, as well as my intuition, to guide the process. I was looking for anything that could be related to the girls' experiences of the programme, or outcomes that they experienced as a result of their participation. Throughout the steps that followed, I often returned to these codes to review and/or change them. Moving on to the third step, I collated the codes into tentative themes. I then reviewed the themes by checking that they make sense in terms of their coded content and their relation to each other. Having formed a good understanding of the content of each theme set, I moved on to naming the themes. Finally, I documented my findings in terms of the themes I found, what it contained, how it related to other themes and to the literature. I considered the implications of each theme with regard to the research question and selected appropriate extracts to validate the findings of my analyses.

The thematic analysis was conducted using the ATLAS.ti software programme. I was able to conduct the analyses whilst leaving the data in its original language format, as I was proficient in both Afrikaans and English. Themes, findings and relevant extracts were translated from Afrikaans to English after the analysis had been completed.

4.5.2 Reflexivity in data analysis

Qualitative analyses are by nature a subjective process, thus it was important to ensure that I draw valid conclusions from the data. According to Snape and Spencer (2003), the researcher's contributions are deemed very valuable in qualitative research, but can only add worth insofar as it can be discerned from the contributions of the participants, and identified as probable interpretations and conclusions of what is clear in the data. I established specific reflexive practices to ensure that my analyses would not be biased and in favour of my own experiences or opinions.

During the analysis phase, I used my journal writings to help identify my subjective stance about the relevant issues. Salient aspects of my background, values and preformed understandings that I felt could compromise the research included my suspicions that the programme had not been as

effective as it could be, and early conclusions that the girls received much less post-programme support than they had needed. I was also influenced by an awareness of the NGO's need to have their programme validated and to provide positive feedback to their funders. At one stage I found myself wanting to relate to all the happenings in the participants' lives to their involvement in UWWV. I had to realise that UWWV was only a small part of their experiences, and that there were a wide array of other factors impacting them both positively and negatively. Furthermore, previous experiences in the community and with these girls, specifically, had the potential to shape my interpretations. I identified in myself preformed impressions, often entailing like or dislike, regarding specific participants. My own fearfulness of the context and the general disarray that I attributed to their context, sometimes threatened to inform my analysis and conclusions about what was right or wrong, and healthy or risky. A very salient issue related to this, was that I problematised gang members in my thinking. This was confronted when participants started speaking of gang members as brothers and friends whom they grew up with, and who they still care for, regardless of their gang activities.

Because these reflections made me aware of my own biases, I critically examined all analyses and conclusions to ensure that it was reflective of research participants' voices, more than my own. My positioning as a young, white, middle class woman who had been largely ignorant of the context and its challenges prior to the study, was apparent throughout this process. Throughout the study, this positioning influenced my interpretations and threatened to limit the depth of my understanding and the transparency of the participants' interactions with me. I was aware that I had to do more than academic research to fully understand what my participants were saying. I also needed to gain their trust, as inter-racial distrust and inherent animosity have been handed down to our generation by Apartheid. Because I was aware of the limitations my race and class background could create, I intentionally submerged myself in the community, in- and outside of my research. I often attended and volunteered at a local church and seized every opportunity to talk to community members of different ages. This shaped my understanding of the context and allowed me to juxtapose my subjective

positioning to the positioning of the people I had come to know. It also introduced a greater measure of trust to community members' interactions with me.

As part of an interdisciplinary team working on the intervention project, I also utilised opportunities to debrief personal experiences and thoughts, and shared my interpretations with colleagues and participants (Mitchell & Irvine, 2008). They could provide me with feedback on whether the analyses agreed with their experiences and tell me when my own voice and opinions was dominating my reports. Lastly, in an attempt to ensure that my analyses were up to standard in terms of the method's application, I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) list of potential pitfalls to ensure that there were no obvious issues with my analyses (see Appendix B).

4.6 Validity and Reliability

In their seminal application of concepts of validity and reliability to qualitative research, Guba and Lincoln (1985, 1989) mention three domains that should be covered to ensure the “truth value” of the research, namely credibility, transferability, and dependability. Furthermore, they introduced the idea of confirmability as a standard for objectivity in qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In this section, I discuss how these standards were upheld in the study.

Credibility refers to the degree to which the research represents the social phenomena and data in an accurate and balanced manner (L. D. Fisher, 2017). In the study, I ensured that appropriate standards of credibility were achieved, through prolonged interaction with the research context and participants, triangulation of data-collection methods, peer debriefing, and member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Morse, 2015). I also presented rich, thick descriptions by using the participants' own words and allowed for differing perspectives to be conveyed, as this provided an authentic representation of the multi-faceted and personal nature of individual experiences (Creswell, 2014).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) consider *transferability* as the measure to which findings can be generalised to other situations, contexts and populations. According to L. D. Fisher (2017),

transferability is attained when research claims are accurately based on believable and robust aspects of the data. In this study, I presented background descriptions of participants, thick accounts and direct quotes from data. Conclusions regarding intervention approaches for youths in this context, can be generalised to other interventions, provided that specifiers given in the study description be considered and translated to the new context.

The stability and accuracy of findings, and traceability of changes in data through time and space, contribute to the *dependability* of qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It considers whether reconstructions of the study would lead to similar findings, if they utilised similar research approaches and involved researchers with similar positionings. In this thesis, I provided detailed descriptions of the research procedures undertaken and the sample used in conducting this study. I clarified how I came to each conclusion and provided supporting evidence from the data, and I used a set protocol for interviewing participants (see Appendix C). All of this was documented and disseminated for the sake of reliability, in order for other researchers to be able to replicate my analyses and verify the conclusions I drew from it (Morse, 2015). Lastly, I made my own positioning expressively clear.

Objectivity in qualitative research (termed *confirmability* by Guba & Lincoln, 1985) does not refer to positivistic disengagement from study processes and findings. Rather, it considers whether findings are plausible and not solely contrived by the researcher's subjectivity. In order to assess this, confirmability considers whether other researchers and stakeholders agree with the interpretations that the research offers of its data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I utilised reflexive practices to ensure that the necessary level of objectivity was maintained in the research (Collins et al., 2018). For example, throughout the process I exercised reflexivity by keeping a journal of personal emotions and thoughts. I used this to critically examine whether my conclusions were based on data findings, or personal influences. This helped me to remain explicitly aware of my personal biases and subjective ways of interpreting and/or interacting with the group (Snape & Spencer, 2003). It enabled me to shift my

frame of reference when necessary so that I could test my views against the research context's reality (Creswell, 2014).

4.7 Ethical Considerations

This study dealt with highly sensitive content, and disclosure thereof held a real risk for the participants. In order to ensure that comprehensive consideration of all ethical issues pertaining to the study took place, the proposed research plan was presented to the Stellenbosch University Research and Ethics Committee for ethical clearance (application number: REC-2018-7086) and to Usiko Stellenbosch for organisational permission. Both parties reviewed and approved of the study (see Appendices D and E), based on the implementation of the following ethical safeguards:

In introducing the research, a description of the study was sent to all the potential participants (Sanjari, Bahramnezhad, Fomani, Shonghi, & Cheraghi, 2014). We informed the participants what data we sought to gather from them and how it would be used and disseminated (see Appendix F) and granted potential participants a chance to ask questions regarding the study. I also attended to the possibility that UWWV programme graduates could feel compelled to take part in the study due to their prior involvement with the organisation. Special attention was given to clarify this issue and to ensure that the decision to participate was entirely voluntary and free from this type of influence that would infringe upon participants' autonomy (Sanjari et al., 2014). Only individuals who were older than 18 years and who voluntarily consented to participate in the study, were included in my sample (see Appendix G for the written consent form). Whilst compiling the archival data (focus group recordings and photographs of participants), Usiko had also obtained informed, voluntary consent from participants that data may be recorded and used in future for research purposes, such as this study.

In order to maintain confidentiality, programme participation was not disclosed to anyone outside the project and interviews were conducted at a secure location outside of the community. Pseudonyms were used and no identifying information was included in discussions of the research

(Sanjari et al., 2014). Further confidentiality measures entailed that consent forms, interviews, recordings and transcriptions were securely stored on a password encrypted memory stick, to which only my supervisor and I had access. Data was kept in a locked cabinet in my supervisor's office throughout the study and will be stored there for one year after the study's completion. After this period has transpired, the data will be destroyed.

In terms of the psycho-emotional effect of the study on participants' well-being, some of the topics addressed had the potential to distress participants. In line with UNICEF's (2017) recommendations, this risk was managed by asking questions in a sensitive manner, and establishing procedures for follow up with vulnerable participants as well as being attentive to the risk for re-traumatisation. Personal disclosures were received in an empathetic and non-judgemental manner, and participants were encouraged to only share what they felt comfortable to share (Lewis, 2003). The researcher purposefully and continually considered the balance of empirical advancement with sensitivity and respect for the participants' privacy (Mitchell & Irvine, 2008). Furthermore, a referral system was put into place to provide participants with further support and professional counselling services, in case these were needed. My relationship with the participants and the attention to debrief the individual interviewees at the end of the session may have mitigated this risk, as no referrals were needed in the study.

Ethical precautions also had to be taken to ensure my own safety and wellness. To protect myself against potential distress whilst listening to the girls' stories, I was part of group-based debriefing sessions at Usiko with the intervention team and had regular check-ins with my supervisor (Lewis, 2003).

Finally, regarding my interactions with the community partner, power-differential between university scholars and community members had to be considered and neutralised (Lazarus et al., 2014). Van Wyk and Naidoo (2006) call for ongoing clarification and management of community

expectations. In meetings with Usiko's WWV research-intervention group, both parties' needs and expectations were regularly discussed. This provided for ongoing communication which clarified possible differences, negotiated differences and allowed consultation for the research process and its possible outcomes (Lazarus et al., 2014).

These ethical and methodological measures were applied and contributed towards the obtainment of over 300 minutes of data. From this data, four clear themes pertaining to the programme's usefulness to clients were delineated. In Chapter 5, I discuss these in depth.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Close your eyes. No, first take off your shoes. We had to take off our shoes and then we had to close our eyes and feel how the wind was blowing and how we were leaving everything that came out of Stellenbosch at the gate. There was something different that was going to happen there at the camp.

- Anthea, Women with Vision 2017

5.1 Introduction

In the archival data of focus group discussions and individual interviews, the participants mentioned several different aspects relating to their experience of the intervention programme. The thematic analysis of these accounts yielded four main themes: *intervention characteristics*, *programme impacts and outcomes*, *sisterhood*, and the *amelioration of gang risk*. Each theme has a set of subthemes that further delineates the themes' contents (see Table 5.1). Regardless of clear linkages between themes, it is useful to be able to discern specific elements that were recurrent in the participants' subjective accounts. According to Creswell (2014), themes that make sense and that reliably represent the content of the data set, are a useful tool for accurately and intricately describing the experiences/opinions present in a group of participants. In the section to follow, each theme will be discussed and supported with representative quotations from the study data (Creswell, 2014). These quotations have been translated from Afrikaans to English. The original Afrikaans quotations are presented in Appendix H to provide a more authentic understanding of the participants' accounts. A complete Afrikaans transcription of one of the interviews is also available in Appendix I.

Table 5.1

Summary of themes and subthemes

Theme	Subthemes	Composite codes
Programme impacts and outcomes	Emotional impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calmness • Finding emotional outlets • Replacing unhealthy coping behaviours • Being harder to provoke or upset
	Psychological resources gained	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inner strength • Self-confidence • Determination • Courage • Agency to make own decisions
	Sense of purpose and identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discovering identity • Clarifying future goals
	Relational changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Altruistic orientation • Perspective taking • Learning not to judge others • Relationships with caretakers • Relationships with men • Relationship with Usiko
Intervention characteristics	Programme structure and content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session content • Facilitation style • Enjoyment and excitement • Predictability • Structure
	Vehicles of change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflection and introspection

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to new experiences • Overcoming challenges • Difficult emotions • Sharing in the group context • Speaking up and being heard • Trust • Being accepted as you are • Social support • Relationships with facilitators • Relationships with mentors • Practical support and advice
	Post-programme effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustained development • Recidivism • Feeling alone • Post-programme support • Desire for more group sessions
Sisterhood	Bond with other participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting to know others • Being (becoming) like sisters • Companionship
	Group identity and belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accepted as you are • Affirmation • Respect • Feeling at home • Teamwork
	Social support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust • Sharing about own life with the group • Experiences shared between participants • Encouragement

Amelioration of gang risk	Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact with gang members • Exposure to gang activities • Unhealthy coping mechanisms • Dating violence • Poor relationships with parents • Unemployment • Obstacles mentioned by participants
	Critical awareness and anti-gang attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-gang attitudes • Awareness of own gang risk
	Avoidance of gangs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoiding gang contact • Altering risk behaviours

5.2 Programme Impacts and Outcomes

When I came back, I felt like a new person. - Miriah

Feedback from programme participants reflected personal growth and constructive change in many different areas. Emotionally, psychologically, socially and in terms of their identity, the girls regarded themselves as having been positively impacted.

5.2.1 Emotional impact

Relevant comments in the data related to the ways in which participants learnt to manage their emotions, rather than just focusing on the specific emotions (such as excitement, peace, happiness, sadness and anger) that were evoked by the programme.

Participants found themselves to be calmer after the programme. Many mentioned they developed an ability to control negative emotions in upsetting and emotionally provocative contexts. For example, Samantha, Katie and Anthea indicated that they were now less inclined to be upset by

the verbal abuse, unfounded judgements and unsensitive remarks of other people. Because of this, Samantha reports feeling much stronger after the programme:

Extract 1

(I am) stronger emotionally. Like I find that... I find it difficult to cry and like it is just difficult for things to touch me. Like, there are few things that can push me in a corner and tell me that 'You are now very sad about this'. It does not happen anymore. I was very fragile last year, which I'm not anymore now.

Before learning to regulate negative emotions like the above, participants like Katie often felt very stressed, and acted out in various ways because they were not able to cope with what they felt. The girls reported having relied on several unhealthy coping behaviours to deal with difficult emotions prior to the programme. Participants described how UWWV made them aware of maladaptive coping styles and helped them to change these. The girls found healthier ways to cope with challenging situations and feelings in the group. An important coping mechanism and emotional outlet for most of them, was sharing their feelings and experiences with the facilitators and co-participants. According to Anthea, Katie, Micky and Samantha, it was relieving to tell others about what they were going through. Anthea tells of how she shared an intensely personal secret for the first time, and how that lifted an immense emotional burden from her shoulders:

Extract 2

The next day, when I got up, I felt relieved, because after eleven years I could say what had really happened. (...) After eleven years, to, like, keeping something to yourself... It's like walking around the whole time with a bag full of books that are hurting your back. And it's a big... It's like coming home and putting down that bag.

Group communications also honed their conflict resolution and communication skills. For example, Micky used to be quite aggressive, but learnt to communicate constructively with other participants: *“I was very - how can I say? - aggressive. I got mad quickly. But when I joined the group, I learnt-. I unlearned (my aggressiveness) very well, so that I don’t get mad so quickly anymore.”* **(Extract 3).**

Participants also learnt to process experiences and make time for reflection, which gave them an opportunity to deal with their feelings deeply and thoroughly. Leigh mentioned that allocated times for introspection during the programme were beneficial to her, because she could think through everything and cry herself out.

5.2.2 Psychological resources gained

Inner strength was a theme that came through very clearly as participants discussed what they gained from the programme. Samantha, for one, had the dual experience of discovering and developing her own strength through the programme: *“What I noticed about myself, is: I realised that I have a very big heart. That as small as I am here, I am strong enough to deal with my problems and the problems of others.”* **(Extract 4).**

As they realised their inner strength, and as they overcame the challenges posed by the programme, participants’ confidence in themselves grew. Amongst others, Micky stated that she got to know her true self through the programme, and that helped her to become more confident in herself: *“I didn’t know myself. But now, being with Women with Vision, I got self-confidence. For myself, I felt, but I am Micky and I must encourage myself and so on, to go forward.”* **(Extract 5).**

Clearly linked to such confidence, was self-assertion. Samantha mentioned how, for the first time in years, she was not allowing people to walk over her anymore, regardless of whether that caused them to label her as rude. Katie and Leigh reported that they gained the confidence to stand up against abusive and gang-involved boyfriends. In Leigh’s case, she made the difficult decision of ending the

relationship and stood her ground by getting an interdict against him when he would not accept her decision. In this process, both girls also withstood the peer pressure of mutual friends who urged them not to end the relationships. They knew that the decision was theirs to make, as Katie said: “*Huh-uh, they won’t tell me what to do. I decide for myself what I must decide, yes.*” (**Extract 6**). The sense of agency present in Katie’s comment was also apparent when girls such as Lize, Micky and Miriah related that they could make the right life choices, regardless of circumstances and obstacles that made it difficult for them. Miriah mentioned a discussion during the programme that confirmed to her that she had the agency to determine her life’s course:

Extract 7

She asked us what we wanted to become and so on. And then she shared with us that there are a lot of obstacles out there that are lying ahead of us and so on, but we don’t have to look at them. We can go further; try to get over that. Or we can do something different. And what she said is true. Because there by us, where I live, there is a lot of obstacles in front of you, but I don’t have to be blinded by that. I can climb over it.

5.2.3 Sense of purpose and identity

Many of the girls reported that they established a clearer sense of identity through the programme. Along with that, some also began to explore their purpose in life, especially as it pertains to their career choice.

Micky and Anthea reported that they had not known themselves before they took part in UWWV but were able to get to know themselves better through the programme’s reflections and interactions. Similarly, Samantha reported that: “*They like asked questions, like who are you? And what are you doing here? And I answered those questions for myself, almost. So, I got to know myself that specific day.*” (**Extract 8**). Clarifying their perception of self and identity, also allowed the girls to reject identities imposed on them. Some, like Lize, found that they could identify and dismiss

antisocial identities or labels (i.e., being a druggie or a bully, or nothing more than a pretty girl) that were placed on them by others.

A more positive identity was established as participants discovered specific personal characteristics, strengths and values. For example, Micky realised that she had a passion for young children living in poverty. Following this realisation, she started providing the hungry children on her street with food once or twice a week. An immense sense of pride is tangible as she talks about this. This social service is also moulding her ideas about her future, as she speaks of becoming a chef and using her continued social service to uplift the youth in her area. Other participants also developed a clearer sense of purpose through their involvement in the programme. For example, Miriah developed a vision for where she was heading with her life as she got to know herself better during programme activities:

Extract 9

I never knew what my career is for what I want to become one day. But that day when I was sitting there in the hall, when we shared with each other and talked, and also the time that I had to sit in the bushes, it dawned on me and I realised that I want to become a psychologist or a social worker one day. And that I want to go tour far, throughout the world, and not just stay in my little place where I am. I want to grow up and be able to show my children: but here is where I lived, and this is where we are now.

5.2.4 Relational changes

Graduates from the programme reported changes in their interpersonal orientation and social skills, which often translated into relational changes.

A common theme in the girls' accounts of how the programme impacted them, was that it made them care more about others. Participants mentioned different ways in which group members supported each other and other members of the community. According to Jenna, it was through the

support and care of the group, that she learnt how to support and care for others: *“I learnt how to listen to others. And I also felt how it is when people support you and help you, and then I knew how to help other people.”* (Extract 10). Rachel was more alerted to the things that were happening to people in her community, so that she could not look past them anymore. After the programme she started looking out for small ways in which she could help those who need it: *“They made me willing to reach out my hands to others, to be there for other people. Like I will always - if I see that someone needs help - I will always try.”* (Extract 11).

For some participants, such as Samantha, part of the orientation towards doing good to others involved an earnest desire to know what is going on in other people’s lives, to listen to them and to not judge prematurely. Miriah describes a similar realisation that she should not judge which demonstrates a capacity for perspective taking that seems to have been absent before:

Extract 12

When I, like, when I had finished hearing about everybody, like, then I tried, like, I’m not going to judge that person anymore. Because look, that person also has those problem. It is not about her walking with a smile on her face every day or whatever, but she also has problems that-. They could be even worse than mine. And now I judge her because I think I am the only person who gets hurt and has pain.

Miriah was not the only participant who mentioned a newly developed ability to consider others’ opinions or experiences, and how these might differ from hers. Anthea and Samantha had similar realisations that others were going through the same (and worse) problems as them. Another participant, Micky, realised that other people should also be granted a chance to give their opinions, and that these opinions may differ from hers:

Extract 14

Micky: For example, I just wanted to have things my way. And I was always right. But, when I joined Usiko, I realised: but I can't always be right. There must come times when I'm wrong and there are times when I am right.

Interviewer: So what do you think made you realise that you can't always be right?

Micky: The fact that there are also other children in the class, who need to give their opinions and-. Like, I just wanted to, had to just be right. But I never thought of what those children had to say and so on.

Such social developments and realisations contributed to the participants' relationships, especially with caretakers and parents. Programme content helped the girls to process their experiences and feelings regarding parental relations and also gave practical advice and/or opportunities to initiate and strengthen these relationships. In their relationships with their mothers, many girls experienced difficulties prior to taking part in the programme. Miriah's relationship with her mother turned around entirely during the course of the programme. She stated that: "*The two of us have a good relationship as mom and daughter now. And... and it's all through Usiko.*" (**Extract 15**). Micky, who does not live with her parents, greatly enjoyed the opportunities that the programme gave her to bond with her mother during these new experiences as they took part in mutual activities and games. Furthermore, her relationship with her absent father became much closer after she started sharing about it in the group:

Extract 16

Me and my dad had never had a relationship. But when I started sharing in the group, and when they then encouraged me to do so and so, then me and my dad developed a relationship. The two of us have a relationship now, finally.

For the girls who were not living with their mother or father, the programme could also contribute to their relationships with their caretakers. Both Leigh and Micky reported some form of

relational difficulty with their primary caretakers at home. However, they also reported that UWWV helped them to address relational problems, and that they now had good relationships with their brother and grandmother, respectively.

The programme did, however, not fix these relationships for all participants. For some, it even caused difficulties in the relationship. Samantha's mother did not like the newfound self-assertive approach that Samantha gained from the programme and frequently made negative comments about it. Katie's mother tried to use Usiko as a tool for manipulation when they fought: *"Then she starts with me again, like... And then I just leave her like that, because if I tell her 'just be quiet' or so, then she blames me. Then she keeps on saying 'I am going to phone your Usiko people'!"* (**Extract 17**). In this case, the mother-daughter relationship was particularly tumultuous. After the end of the programme, Katie's problems with her mother only worsened. At the time of the interview, Katie moved out of her mother's house and was staying with a friend. She did not really have any contact with her mother. However, although some participants still struggle with specific relational issues, the participant's accounts regarding the programme effects on parental relationships are largely positive.

Having discussed the different types of change that took place in participants and their relationships throughout the programme, I now turn to consider the programme elements that created, sustained and/or impeded such change.

5.3 Intervention Characteristics

I did not need someone who would speak to me in return. I just needed to talk. (I needed) someone who would listen to me and not give advice - I just want to have someone listen to me without judging or saying anything. - Samantha

UWWV's structural elements and facilitation approaches encouraged constructive change on a personal and interpersonal level. In addition to this, the undeniable contribution of group dynamics

to participant growth and the need for continued support to this growth after programme conclusion, was apparent in participant accounts.

5.3.1 Programme structure and content

Aspects of the programme structure that were salient in the data related, firstly, to the programme content, especially experiences and processes that were exciting and enjoyable to participants. Secondly, the facilitation style employed by the facilitators was discussed, with reference to how that created a structured and safe (“predictable”) space for the girls.

The girls felt that the session content was relevant to their needs and experiences in the community. This was due, in part, to the facilitators’ openness to discuss issues that the girls wanted to touch on. Participants found sessions to be interesting and comprehensively covering issues that they wanted to discuss. One participant, Anthea, mentioned:

Extract 18

Every week, they had something different to talk about, so was not basically the same thing all the time. And also that the one week, even though you might have discussed that thing last week, the session (on the topic) does not finish before you have finished talking. That was... They give you that ticket to talk and to say whatever you want.

Participants enjoyed checking in with their facilitators and other members of the group, before discussing these topics. They felt that check-ins ensured that the group and facilitators always knew about important happenings in their lives. The check-in also contributed to the sense of predictability that made the girls feel secure in the programme. Although they often did not know what was going to happen next, they always knew that a session would start with a check-in and end with a check-out. Alongside this, the regular schedule of weekly sessions provided the necessary structure. They knew what to expect and looked forward to it almost every week. Micky stated that: *“I looked forward to Usiko, to the session, and I couldn’t wait to sit in the circle and to share and so on.”* (Extract 19).

An obvious contributor to the girls' enthusiasm regarding the sessions, was the expectation and excitement that they experienced during the programme's regular meetings and special outings. According to Micky: *"No, I can just say that it was very fun. And a person learnt many things at Women with Vision. Wow, it was exciting."* (**Extract 20**).

In Extract 20, one can also see how learning enhanced the girls' experiences during the programme. They enjoyed being exposed to new things and learning to adapt to those. As part of their facilitation structure, Usiko's facilitators always debriefed programme activities and outings to ensure that participants processed their experience and extracted as many learnings as possible. This approach was deemed effective by participants. Leigh reported that debriefing discussions often had more of an impact than some of the activities themselves. This facilitation was especially important in the case of activities that involved projective techniques and metaphoric enactments. Such activities were profound for participants, and according to Lize and Miriah, for the meanings to really sink in, they had to receive guidance in processing in what had really been said or illustrated for them.

Regarding facilitation style, many of the girls reported that the facilitators' non-judgemental listening contributed to the positive dynamics of the group sessions. Anthea mentioned: *"The facilitators - they were there to listen to you. Not to say, when you say something, that 'No, you can't speak about that.' They listened to you... There were tears, there was laughter, there was just everything."* (**Extract 21**).

Furthermore, having both a male and a female facilitator created a dynamic in group processes that could not otherwise have been achieved. According to Samantha, the group needed to also have a male present. Along with some others, she felt that he would fulfil certain functions that a woman could not, and teach girls about relating to men in a healthy manner:

Extract 22

Because we needed a man and it is not always that a woman... I don't even feel comfortable to speak with my father, and just to see how comfortable the girls were to speak to him was really... It was fascinating.

However, the inclusion of male facilitators in the intervention team constituted a challenge to some of the participants. Most of the girls were not used to sharing emotional details with male persons, and some did not immediately feel comfortable to do so. They had to learn how to share and trust across the gender division. However, they reported positive outcomes from relating to male persons in this new way. For example, Miriah mentioned how relating to the male facilitator helped her to relate to other older men more comfortably.

5.3.2 Vehicles of change

The girls reported that different non-structural elements in the programme were the starting point or catalyst of changes that they made to their lives during the programme. I thus named these processes and relational elements “vehicles of change”.

Several participants mentioned that introspection in the programme pre-empted change. With regards to this, certain activities in the programme and the way it was facilitated, enhanced participants' capacity for reflection. One activity, the solo conducted during a wilderness excursion, was frequently mentioned by participants as a driver of change. Participants shared accounts of how they enjoyed and appreciated the time spent alone outside, and how the solitude and quietness made them think. The girls reported that those type of activities allowed them to thoroughly process their own experiences and emotions, and to deeply reflect on their identity and life goals. According to Samantha, *“They like asked questions. Like, who are you? And what are you doing here? And I answered those questions for myself.”* (**Extract 23**). Lize, Leigh and Katie reported that reflective activities helped them to make life decisions that were congruent with who they are and where they

want to go. Samantha described a play therapy activity with play dough that triggered such introspection in her:

Extract 24

Our first session that we had with the playdough. I couldn't speak, because I was just crying, but it made me think about my childhood a lot and it brought back many memories. I never thought that I would think about that at this advanced age. But it was pretty interesting for me to know, like, I could have made many wrong choices in life because of that, but... I have made the right choices all the way.

Miriah mentioned that the solo at the first camp was a novel experience for most participants, and stated that this was just one of the many new experiences for the participants. Participants related to the programme exposing them to many new things, and that this was conducive to change and enjoyment. According to Miriah, being exposed to the unknown introduced a well-received element of challenge to their participation in UWWV, and gave them an opportunity to overcome the challenge:

Extract 25

When I came back, I felt like a new person. Because I could tell them that I had, on my own - I had never sat on my own at a place for six hours (or was it seven?) – but I could tell them that I at least I had now. It was a challenge for me and I faced it, because I could sit there for those seven hours and try to figure out who I really want to be.

In another example of a challenging new experience, Samantha was asked to speak at a feedback session for the corporate funders when they visited from overseas. When asked about it, she indicated that it was not easy for her since she never did anything like that before. However, it instilled a sense of pride in her, as she was commended by her peers and facilitators. Katie and Miriah also mentioned their sense of achievement in overcoming their fear of falling and learning the skill of ice skating when the girls had an outing to a local ice rink. Miriah described this experience:

Extract 26

I can remember that I was very afraid of going on the ice skating. I said the whole time that ‘No, I’m going to get hurt, I don’t want to go’. And a facilitator encouraged me to go. And I fell three times, and I got up all three times and tried (again). And I got it right. And that felt to me like the biggest challenge that I had ever gone through in my entire life.

Participants felt they could draw valuable lessons from the challenges they had to overcome as part of the programme. For example, a key learning for Anthea was the knowledge that she had the capacity and strength to complete difficult activities that form part of the programme. However, they also experienced difficult emotions as part of these challenges. During camps and on other ecotherapy excursions, fear of nature, animals and insects was very salient for some of the girls. For participants, such as Julie, the programme also evoked many unknown and overwhelming emotions at once and she struggled to contain these. For Anthea, the solo evoked a lot of anger which was linked to her feelings of being deserted. Samantha also reported feeling that, because she did not often share in the group herself, she felt even more weighed down when she had to share in the problems of others by listening to them. Later on, however, Samantha mentioned this same process of sharing in the problems of others as a highlight of the programme: *“Like, I never shared, but to take responsibility to carry other people’s pain, that was very awesome.”* (**Extract 27**). Samantha and others found it rewarding to work through their emotions and overcome their fears.

A similar challenge that almost all participants mentioned, was overcoming the fear of sharing personal details in the group and learning to trust other participants. Most participants reported that they felt a relief and received support as a result of being able to do so. Anthea shared about facing this challenge and how the group dynamic contributed to her sense of self-worth throughout the programme:

Extract 28

Never before was there an opportunity to speak about how you really feel, and there you could say how you feel... Not worrying about what the others would say regarding what you had just shared about your feelings. And in the moment, no one there judged you for what you had shared there. (...) It was exciting. Just the fact that you could be amongst people where you could give your honest opinion, where you matter to her.

In Anthea's account, three important vehicles of change are apparent: the trust within the group that contained members while they underwent the intervention's processes, the powerful effect of speaking up and being heard, and the safe platform that was created by the standard of unconditional acceptance the group had set. The data revealed that being able to discuss their thoughts and experiences in the group, contributed to the experience of acceptance and self-worth for the girls. Speaking up and being heard was also empowering; to the extent that participants could start asserting themselves outside of the group context as well. A quote from Miriah's interview illustrated this finding:

Extract 29

We never had the guts to share that with our parents. We'll share it with our friend, but not with our parents. And that day (at the camp's closing) we did the play in front of them to show them that we are not ashamed; we'll share it all with them.

Another challenging aspect of the programme was dealing with what other participants had shared. Micky described that the only bad thing she experienced during the entire programme, was the sad stories that were sometimes shared. As with Samantha's experience in Extract 27 though, this experience was transformed into something positive (the comfort of knowing that someone had gone through similar things):

Extract 30

It didn't feel good, because I had never thought that they were also going to share similar things that they go through. But, when I really heard, then I saw, but okay, there are things that they go through that I go through as well.

Participants mentioned the invaluable support they received from the facilitators in both the programme's challenges and the process of growth and change that they went through in their personal lives. Taking on the role of supportive authority figures, the facilitators became like parents to girls like Miriah, Rachel, Leigh and Katie. Miriah described her experience of the facilitators and the positive impact they had on her:

Extract 31

For me it was very good, really. The facilitators felt to me like a mom, because I could share with them, everything. I could speak openly. When I met the two of them, they really felt like my mom. Because back then I did not really have a bond with my mom. So, I felt what parent-love really is.

It was comforting for participants to know that they could share all of their problems with the facilitators and go to them for advice regarding any issue. According to Samantha, the girls felt assured that the facilitators would stand by them "through thick and thin". The facilitators socially and practically supported participants with what they were going through. For example, Micky's relationship with her father was completely transformed by a facilitator's encouragement to reach out to him and the practical advice on how to keep on reaching out. In another example, Anthea, was able to lean on the support of a mentor figure for the first time:

Extract 32

She (the facilitator) still means a lot to me. She was like the first person who I told about what is really going on in my life. And like, she also listened and... Every time that I shared with her about - even though it might have been about something that I needed - then she always went through trouble to give it to me. Even though she was not always able to do it at that exact time, she did it regardless.

However, upon programme completion, participants' relationships with the facilitators changed. Although they still felt that they could trust the facilitators and approach them with their problems, they did not know how to do this. The interviews revealed that a few participants could maintain or establish contact with the facilitators after their graduation from UWWV, as group sessions took place less frequently and many of the girls did not have cell phones or the facilitators' contact details. For example, Miriah lost her father shortly after the programme's conclusion and could not notify the facilitators, even though she wanted to. She and others really experienced a sense of loss as contact with the facilitators decreased, and some struggled to adjust to coping with life without their support. Leigh reported that the programme's end was sad for her, because it was almost like losing her mother for a second time:

Extract 33

Leigh: No, it was sad! Because I used to be able to share with her (the facilitator) just what I wanted to. She was like a mother.

Interviewer: Hmm. And now? Do you still have contact?

Leigh: We don't have contact anymore. I saw her laaaaast, way back still. (...) Wow, very sad. Because I can't share and go to her and sort out my stuff or problems anymore. I just have to keep it to myself, because I can trust no-one in our community.

In Leigh's quote it is evident that we need to consider the impact of the programme not just in terms of its application and effects during implementation, but also after completion.

5.3.3 *Post-programme effects*

The girls reported that change was an ongoing theme in their lives ever since UWWV. For some, this change constituted sustained personal and interpersonal growth after the programme ended, whilst others were reported to revert to prior coping habits and styles of relating. Linked to these processes, considerations of what participants needs were and how they would have wanted to be supported upon the programme's conclusion, were mentioned.

Many girls reported that the changes that took place in them and in their relationships during the programme, were still present at the time of the interview. Micky mentioned how teachers were still commenting on the major change that they could see in her. Miriah described how her newfound relationship with her mother was better than ever before. Anthea, Julie and Micky voiced the sentiment that they would continue growing and changing due to their participation in UWWV. In Julie's words:

Extract 34

Usiko had a very, very big impact, I believe, on all of our lives. And, like, if we maybe, if you hear that something goes along with vision, then your - your brain just hits: Women with Vision! And yes. And I believe that that is where we started our journey, that our vision is not entirely complete yet, but we are on our way there.

However, some participants reported how they saw their fellow group members falling back into the risky behaviours that the programme attempted to address. Upon being asked about how other girls had changed after the programme, Rachel raised concern about Katie and Anthea, whom she thought were not attending school. Leigh mentioned that the same two girls started smoking again. Finally, Katie herself reported that she had dated a gangster for a while after the programme. A close friend and co-participant speculated that Katie was struggling to sustain the programme's positive

changes in herself, as she was facing a lot of challenges and struggled to cope with it on her own: *“Because she said, they don’t speak to us anymore, and we also can’t get a hold of our mentors anymore, and... And she has quite a lot on her heart.”* (**Extract 35**).

Being left without support and feeling alone was a salient theme in the girls’ accounts, thus this is not a far-fetched explanation for Katie’s recidivism into unhealthy coping behaviours. As mentioned in Extract 33, Leigh also felt as if she had lost her only support figure. Miriah felt cut off, not just from the facilitators, but also from the supporting dynamic of the group itself:

Extract 36

The end of the (last) camp? It was very sad for me. It felt to me as if I am now finished with school and now I’m on my own. I’m going this way, then that one is going that way... It felt like that to me. We were not going to be together any more. We were not going to have that bond, like every, once a week having a session at school or so on. It felt like final to me, here we are ending off. And nothing more.

Most participants mentioned that the group did not really see each other anymore, even though some reported that the group was still close, and members were still offering each other some support: *“Our relationship has been strong ever since. We greet each other, we will still encourage each other and so on. There is still a connection between us, yes.”* (**Extract 37**). They felt that the group needed the structured setting of a programme session, to continue functioning as it had in the programme. A few girls also requested that follow-up sessions would happen more frequently. Considering the challenges and struggles that she knew other group members were experiencing at the time, Rachel thought that having another session would be a good idea: *“I think we should have had a session so that we could have been there for each other and so on. Especially now in the time that some of them lost their brother, and now her father.”* (**Extract 38**). Participants were still experiencing very difficult issues in their lives, and reported that they needed the support of the group and the facilitators during

that time. Lize described the internal experiences leading to this need for another session very well: *“Because, like, maybe stuff happens. You feel pressured and so on. And you just feel: ‘Joh, but when are they going to say there’s a session?! ‘Just so that you can talk and get things off of your shoulders.”*

(Extract 39).

Considering post-programme support, the girls were questioned regarding their mentors and the follow-up sessions they were supposed to have. The unvarying response to questions regarding mentors, was that more support from the appointed mentors would have been welcome. At the time of the interviews, only one participant had had one follow-up session with her mentor. Lize expressed some disdain at the lack of follow-up that she received from her mentor. She gave voice to her need to still share what she is going through with someone, and explained as follows:

Extract 40

Like they had said that we have mentors, who would take our numbers and who would tell us that they are going to talk and so on. But until now, no one has come. Because I took it like this: If there is a mentor, and she lets me know that I must meet her for that, then we can talk to each other. (...) I just want our mentors to still communicate with us like that. Because I see my mentor, and she tells me that she’s a bit busy with work and so on. But I would really want to see the-, maybe want to see her.

It was evident from the girls’ accounts that they thought that the heavy reliance on mentors was a big part of the problem with the follow-up system. According to Micky, not all of the participants have a relationship with their mentors. Some never even met their mentors and/or did not know who their mentors were. Rachel also mentioned that she thought the group should play an important role in follow-up meetings. She raised serious doubts as to whether one-on-one sessions with the mentors would have been effective, had they taken place.

5.4 Sisterhood

It was something different, because like, we all like... we were not friends. And we skipped that paged of friends just like that, to where we started becoming sisters to one another. And that was something different. - Anthea

The group context and dynamic were perceived by participants as being both a vehicle of change, and a programme outcome in itself. Close and supportive bonds with others and belonging to a clearly identified group provided the girls with a safe place in which they could grow.

5.4.1 Bond with other participants

The girls reported the social development within the group which led to them feeling connected with other members on a close, companionate level. According to Anthea, it all started with getting to know each other: *“We got to know each other and today we are like... closer to each other, like, which was not like that before.”* (**Extract 41**). Some participants reported that they felt they had been enriched by getting to know other individuals in the group. Furthermore, as they got to know the others better, the group developed a special and lasting bond. According to Samantha: *“The bond that we built with each other is just... It’s strong.”* (**Extract 42**). There was a sense of companionship in the group. Group members shared gestures of friendship and inside jokes. For some, these girls were the only friends that they had ever had.

The collective bonds shared by group members were described as a “sisterhood” by a few participants. Miriah explained how the group got together and developed a unifying trust: *“But as I got involved with Usiko, they felt like sisters to me. And the facilitators like my mom. Because you could share openly. (...) We trusted each other and we became one - sisters, Women with Vision.”* (**Extract 43**).

Samantha described the unconditional nature of the sisterhood that had been established during the programme: *“We really became like soul sisters and, although we have our differences every now and then, we still stood by each other through thick and thin.”* (**Extract 44**).

5.4.2 Group identity and belonging

The group not only gave the girls somewhere to socialise and share their feelings. It was also a space where they were unconditionally accepted and felt at home. Samantha described the feeling of belonging and security that she experienced in the group:

Extract 45

To come here and sit in the circle and feel at home, because it's not always that-. Say for instance that you are at your home, then you don't always feel at home. You don't belong. But here you could feel as if you belong here. (...) It was just like a house outside of your house, and it felt so homely in my circle.

Participants felt that they could just be themselves in the group. For instance, Anthea mentioned that she did not have to worry about monitoring how she was presenting herself and what she was saying to the group, as she knew they would not judge her. Furthermore, more than just feeling accepted, some participants mentioned that the group affirmed who they were as persons. According to Julie, there was a mutual respect present in the group that was uplifting.

5.4.3 Social support

The group felt like home, not just because the girls were accepted there, but because they were at ease there. They trusted each other. This made it possible for them to share about their lives. As they shared, they received support and encouragement from the other girls, especially as they realised that the other girls shared similar experiences.

In a closing session where the group reflected on what they gained from the programme, Samantha said: *“There was support that I received here. I think everyone will agree that it was - the*

support that was here - it was outstanding.” (Extract 46). However, to gain access to the support of the group, participants had to learn to openly and authentically share their troubles, implicating that they had to learn how to trust others. For many it was the first time they shared certain details about their lives. Rachel, Miriah, Katie and Anthea all shared about how challenging it was for them to share such details in the group context. Julie also struggled but felt relieved once she learnt to do so. She mentioned how sharing her problems and experiences with the others ensured that she would not carry internal hurts around with her:

Extract 47

Usually, one is scared that if you share your personal life with other people, then everybody will know by tomorrow. But here we learnt to trust each other and open up and say how you feel - and not bleed on the inside, but to talk. And that helped a lot.

Julie’s comment illustrates the determinative role that trust played in group support sessions. Most participants mentioned that they learned to trust the group. This trust was based on knowing that they would always be accepted, and their private matters kept confidential by other participants and the facilitators. Miriah described the safe space that this trust created and how it impacted her:

Extract 48

Like, you could openly share. There was no shyness, or fear of sharing. Because we all trusted each other and we mostly had the same issues. Like, I wasn’t afraid to share my problems, regarding home and my mother or the school. Because we all understood each other and we had unity amongst each other.

For some participants, the trust and support was of such a nature that they started to tell others about traumatic events from their pasts for the first time ever. Anthea told them of how she shared an intensely personal secret for the first time, and how that freed her from the shame and fear of the sexual abuse that held her captive for eleven years: “*And Women with Vision helped me to share for the first*

time, after eleven years, about what really happened in my life. And, like, it wasn't easy, but they... at least they listened." (**Extract 49**). However, this was not a perfect process. Regarding some participants who did not faithfully attend all the sessions, a measure of distrust was pronounced. Rachel also speculated that the participant who dropped out, felt exposed and did not trust the group to accept her and guard her secrets, thus, she started avoiding other programme graduates.

But regardless of these issues, the participants reported that they often received encouragement from these group sharing sessions. Sometimes this was in the form of actual encouragement and advice. But often it was also in realising that others were experiencing similar challenges. According to Leigh, the group encouraged her through very difficult times:

Extract 50

They stood by me and prayed for me and so on (...) They encouraged me and... I wanted to. There was 'n time when I wanted to take my life. And then Katie told me I shouldn't do it, because it's not worth it. And they stood by me a lot.

For Micky, Anthea and Miriah, it was comforting to know that others also had problems and that they were not alone. Jenna explained it as follows:

Extract 51

Usually when you are hurting and you have difficult circumstances, then you usually feel that you are the only one that carries these things – difficult times and so on. But then we came here and I learnt that I am not alone.

5.5 Amelioration of Gang Risk

Lots of young girls just want to be (in a relationship) with a gangster, like it's the new in thing to date one of them now... They really think it's cool. I do not think that it's cool.

- Micky

Although the UWWV never explicitly stated to participants that it was aimed at alleviating the girls' risk to gangs, some of them raised the topic of their own accord. Others mentioned contextual factors and experiences that are indirectly linked to gangsterism. From their comments, aspects of how the girls view and interact with gangs became obvious.

5.5.1 Vulnerabilities

In the literature review, I discussed a few predisposing factors that create a risk for females to be negatively affected by gangs or which pre-empt involvement with gangs. In the interviews, participants mentioned some of these. I grouped them together into the theme of “vulnerabilities”.

The most obvious vulnerability was participants' direct contact with gangsterism. From their reports, it was clear that the chance to fall victim to gang-related activities depended on where the participants lived. Certain streets and areas were associated with gang activities more closely than others, leaving the girls who lived there at an increased risk. Lize reported that “*Where we live, it is now not that bad. But in other areas, it is now very bad. Like in [XX] street and there.*” (**Extract 51**). But, regardless of where they lived, all the girls reported experiencing some form of exposure to gang-related activities. This primarily involved experiencing gang shootouts as a bystander for girls who were not involved. Those girls who had direct relationships with gangsters (such as Katie's and Leigh's boyfriends, and Julie, Jenna and Leigh's brothers) reported much more exposure to the activities of local gangs. Katie reports how her ex-boyfriend carried guns with him while he walked with her. Furthermore, she reported that she and a friend frequently participated in these gangs' recreational activities, such as “hanging”, smoking and so on.

Those who freely associated with gang-involved individuals did not necessarily see their relationships as contact with gangsters. They were friends and acquaintances. The girls only mixed with the gangs because they knew particular individuals in the gang. As Katie put it: “*I know many of them. We grew up together. We went to school together also, and so on. Now I know them, so they are*

nice to me.” (**Extract 52**). They also did not only associate with one gang, but freely moved from one to the other as social circumstances and their preferences lead them to. Knowing that some gangs might target them as a result of their connections with rival gangs created some tension and fear for these gang-associated participants, especially in cases where they hung out in public spaces. However, they mostly felt secure that their acquaintances in each gang would cover for them, because they had known each other for a long time. However, the two girls who had been in relationships with gangsters both reported that they had been victims of intimate partner abuse. Katie described the maltreatment in-depth:

Extract 53

We got together, and all of that, and then he started hitting me and so on. And then I said: “No. I don’t want this for me. But go!” When he found me next to the street, then he shouted wild things and threw me with rocks. Then I said, ‘No!’, then I just walked there, or sometimes I ran, because he is very rough. Especially when he is drunk. Then I left him alone.

The girls also described different obstacles and challenges they experienced in the community, which indirectly made them vulnerable to gangs. They mentioned poverty and parental unemployment, peer pressure, absenteeism from school, teen pregnancies, domestic abuse and dating violence. Saliently, they struggled with unhealthy coping behaviours (such as using drugs) and lacking parental relationships. Anthea described how she used drugs as an escape, similar to the way that her mother uses alcohol:

Extract 54

My life was so out of order. I smoked dagga to get rid of my problems. My life consisted of eating, sleeping and smoking. I don’t know my father and my mother is always at home, drinking. She is an alcoholic, she drinks every day.

Regarding parental relationships, many participants reported difficulties. Katie and Lize had a particularly tumultuous relationships with their mothers and a lot of girls reported absenteeism on the part of their father. This constrained their relationships with their fathers. For Rachel, it led to feelings of rejection:

Extract 55

Like, he is married and has another wife and other children, so he was mostly with them. So, like, his wife did not want him to be with us. He was not allowed to speak to us and so on. So, then I felt that he was constantly picking her over us.

According to Micky, absent father figures have a particular effect on the young girls in the community. In her view, they are to blame for the way that these girls seek acceptance in romantic relationships:

Extract 56

Maybe they grew up without a father in the home. And now they feel, but there's no love in this house. Now they go out and search for love with that one, and that one. And so, it happens that they become pregnant.

5.5.2 Critical awareness and anti-gang attitudes

As the topic of gangsterism came up, all the girls clearly illustrated that they were aware of the gang-presence in their community. However, their level of awareness and attitudes regarding this presence varied.

Rachel and Miriah mentioned that the programme raised their consciousness of community issues such as gangsterism. In Miriah's words: "*Like that play* [referring to a drama skit that the girls did to comment on salient issues facing youths in their community] *was an eye opener for me, into our street. Into our community.*" (**Extract 57**). They reported that their heightened awareness of the

obstacles they faced, made them more focused on making future-orientated choices that would not drag them into the kind of issues they saw around them. Some of the girls also critically reflected on the gang-related activities in their communities and how girls are adversely affected by these when they get involved. Most of their comments embodied an affirmed anti-gang attitude. The girls who spoke out against gang involvement made it clear that they thought it was stupid and potentially dangerous to become involved with gangs. Samantha mentioned incidents where she saw girls being harmed by their gang involvement. Because of this, it was important for her not to get drawn into their activities:

Extract 58

I see it every day – how gangsters mess up women’s lives... Like Sunday, when me and Amanda were on our way to the field, just when we got to the corner of our road, one guy shot at his girl. Like literally!

Micky also realised that there was an increased risk of gang-related victimisation for girls who became romantically involved with gang members: “*Because you put your own life in danger! At the end of the day, then they don’t find that person, then they take you! Because they see it like this: you are the girl.*” (**Extract 59**). Because of this, she did not fall for the trends that are popular among other adolescent girls. Even though most of her peers seem to think that it is cool to date a gangster, Micky vehemently rejects this notion.

Girls like Rachel, Samantha and Micky, who held these strong sentiments against gangs, stated that gangs and gangsters held no attraction to them. They actively put measures in place to make sure they avoid gang-contact. On the other hand, the girls who openly associated with gangsters, responded ambivalently when asked what their views of gangs were. Leigh did not want to openly talk about gangs, even though different comments in her interview alluded to the fact that some of her brothers were involved with gangs. This was also confirmed by some of her fellow group members. Katie

voiced a clear anti-gang philosophy, which was at odds with her complacent engagement with gangs in practice. Katie was friends with several gang members and has been romantically involved with at least one gangster since graduating from the UWWV, even though she clearly expressed an aversion to any type of romantic relationship with a boy during the programme. Katie also spoke out against gangs and mentioned she was scared of them. When prodded on this topic, she made her position clear:

Extract 60

Interviewer: How do you feel regarding gangs?

Katie: It is not right.

Clearly there is a discrepancy between what Katie feels regarding gangs and her actual behaviour. The next subtheme considers the behavioural changes (or absence thereof) that participants described during their interviews.

5.5.3 Avoidance of gangs

The UWWV programme was aimed at buffering girls' risk to gangs by lessening risk behaviours and boosting behaviours that are promotive to well-being. This theme considers the actual changes in behaviour that the participants described in relation to gang contact.

Katie was the only participant who was forthright about her continued relationships with gang members. However, Katie did not shun all contact with gang members as a result of the programme. She chose to simply avoid the more dangerous gang activities, whilst still taking part in the social aspects of gang life. Katie mentioned how she dealt with it when her gang-involved friends' violent activities started to endanger her:

Extract 61

So, I'm also not scared of them when they walk with a gun or something like that. But I will go out of their way if they are walking with a gun or something like that. Then I'll go home. Then

I know they are going to shoot or something, then we all go home, then we lay down for a while. And then they just start shooting.

Katie took similar avoidance measures when her boyfriend became abusive. She would purposefully enter another gang's turf (even though that might endanger her) to get away from her boyfriend when he was insulting or hurting her. Because trespassing on their turf could lead to retribution by the rival gang, her boyfriend would then have to turn back.

Other participants demonstrated more decided avoidance of gang activities. Leigh ended her relationship with a gang-involved boyfriend and got a police interdict to make sure that he would leave her alone shortly after the programme's first camp. She mentioned that the time of reflection on the camp helped her realise how unhealthy the relationship was, and helped her with her decision to end it. She also started to change her risky ("wild") behaviour that would lead to contact with gang members. Similarly, Lize mentioned that she used to have the "wrong" friends, who pressured her to use alcohol and party a lot. However, the activities and times of reflection at the camp encouraged her to change her life. This led to her avoiding her old friends and their parties.

Extract 62

Lize: I just sat still about the things. About the sessions that we did. And like about the, uhm, obstacles...

Interviewer: Okay. Okay... And you say that you had to make decisions and changes? Do you want to tell me a bit about the change you made?

Lize: I just moved my wrong friends aside and moved forward.

Other girls, such as Micky, Samantha and Rachel, had strong anti-gang attitudes even before the programme started. They confirmed that their learnings and experiences during the programme strengthened their resolve to not become involved with gangs. They continued to avoid gangs by

staying mostly indoors and not mixing with youths who they knew were gang-affiliated. As Samantha said: “Vir my is dit groot om nie daar te gaan nie” (for them it is important not to go there).

Overall the girls reported positively on the impacts they perceived the UWWV programme to have on their lives. The four themes provided an overview of the types of changes that the programme effected. In the next chapter, I interpret and discuss these findings, relate it to existing research on gang interventions and consider the implications that it has for future research and practice.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I don't regret that I was in Women with Vision. Because I feel a change has taken place here.

Because many teachers tell me - until today they still tell me - "Wow, Micky, there is a very big difference in you."

- Micky, Women with Vision 2017

6.1 Introduction

This qualitative study was undertaken to expand the limited body of empirical evidence and community knowledge on adolescent girls' risk to gangsterism. The specific aim of the study was to explore programme graduates' experiences of the intervention. Within the community psychology paradigm, this aim encouraged the use of this understanding to contribute to the development of preventative interventions aimed at this group, and mutual sharing of information to empower the community to act in response to community-based problems of gangsterism. I gathered data regarding the subjective experiences of eight adolescent girls who graduated from the UWWV preventative intervention programme in one local community. This data gave an indication of the programme's usefulness to participants and generated recommendations for future community-based programmes.

In this chapter, I interpret the findings derived from the participants' narratives and draw conclusions of the programme's impact and outcomes. Thereafter, I discuss the contributions of this study to the local and academic empirical knowledge bases and consider the implications of findings for practice. I conclude with a discussion of this study's limitations and some directions for future research.

6.2 Discussion

According to Scileppi and colleagues (2000), determination of a programme's usefulness to its participants entails systematically relating programme characteristics to an expected standard. These

authors delineate four areas that should be considered in such analyses: (1) the process of programme implementation, (2) immediate programme outcomes, (3) long-term programme impact, and (4) the goals of the intervention. In my discussion, I use these four areas of consideration as a guiding structure to assess participants' experiences of the UWWV programme. However, as long-term effects of the UWWV programme cannot be determined yet, I grouped programme impacts and outcomes together.

6.2.1 Implementation of intervention

Assessing the implementation of UWWV programme from the perspective of its participants entails considering whether the participants thought that the programme was well-executed, "cool" (i.e., relatable) and relevant to their needs (Pinnock, 2016). In the findings, it is evident that participants enjoyed the programme's weekly sessions and the special outings. The excursions introduced an element of challenge and excitement that appealed to their youthful desire to explore. In contrast to the constructive challenges of the excursions I found that participants largely enjoyed weekly sessions because of the predictable structure that the regular sessions lent to the girls' often chaotic lives. These sessions were a safe space to them, where they could "just be themselves" and discuss what they wanted to. This finding reflects positively on the programme, as research has found that interventions are more effective when they provide youths with a sense of security and structure that alleviates the need for gang involvement (Pinnock, 2016; Wolf & Gutierrez, 2012).

From the participants' perspectives, the programme comprehensively addressed issues that were relevant to their needs and struggles. Participants especially enjoyed discussing different topics relevant to their lives during the weekly sessions. In agreement with recommendations in the literature (Buthelezi, 2012; Pinnock, 2016; Van Wyk & Naidoo, 2006), the success of these sessions was attributed to the way that the facilitators allowed the adolescents some agency in determining the focus of discussions. It is apparent that the girls derived a lot of support, empathy and comfort from their relationships with the facilitators. Their non-judgemental approach and availability to participants was marked by participants as a key impacting factor during the programme.

Furthermore, inclusion of a male person on the facilitation team effectively addressed aspects of the participants' interpersonal well-being and gender relational skills. Baring a few girls who were initially apprehensive, participants appreciated the inclusion of male facilitators and commented that it had been a valuable contribution to the programme. A previous study of facilitator impacts in Usiko's programmes found that female facilitators have a particular impact on girls who participated in the programme. Anthonissen's (2011) study described only female facilitators as role models and providers of guiding values and attitudes for female participants, whilst both male and female facilitators imparted knowledge and provided guidance in terms of nature-based activities. This study confirmed Anthonissen's (2011) findings regarding the functions of facilitators in providing moral guidance and model behaviours, and extended these findings to include consideration of how male facilitators also perform guiding and supporting functions outside of adventure-based activities. Furthermore, the study illuminated that relationships with male facilitators provide female participants with a model for healthy relationships with other males, in a context where these are largely absent (Aldridge et al., 2011).

Considering programme content, specific activities that participants commended, included the check-ins and check-outs, camps, reflection exercises (such as the solo), and the ice-skating field trip. Furthermore, the girls found that the debriefing-based approach of the facilitators was useful in optimising the learning potential of these experiences. Linking these participant observations to research findings, Coulson and Harvey (2013) reported that most individuals do not possess an innate capacity for the critical (self-)reflection that is necessary to extract and apply learnings from life experiences. They describe debriefing as one of the ways in which facilitators can provide the scaffolding support needed to develop this capacity. In line with what participants reported, such debriefing activities are an accepted method used in therapy and interventions to facilitate the transferral of learnings to other areas of participants' lives (Hill, 2007; Tucker, 2009). Debriefing approaches in Usiko's programmes aim to guide participants to extract learnings and to consider how

they can apply these in their real life contexts (Naidoo et al., 2017). From programme participants' accounts, it was clear that this transfer had taken place in the UWWV programme.

Debriefings and other processes during sessions acted as “vehicles of change” in the participants. They enabled and encouraged the girls to adopt healthier coping behaviours and recreational pastimes. Vehicles of change included reflection practices (particularly the solo), metaphoric enactment of the laying off of burdens and problems, and experiences of speaking up and being heard. A salient example was the process of sharing in the group context. Participants benefitted from opportunities to voice their personal thoughts, feelings and experiences. In doing so they also accessed the opportunity for the group to support them. In line with Van Wyk's (2015) core finding regarding adolescent girls in similar local communities, the girls had an intense desire/need to say what is on their minds, and to be listened to. They wanted to express that they valued the same things as prescribed by social norm, but also required an acknowledgement of the obstacles they faced in trying to attain these norms. The opportunities that the group provided for them to speak up and be heard led to an experience of release, as well as a sense of validation and self-worth.

Participants did not suggest any changes in terms of session content. They did, however, offer suggestions regarding programme structure. Although the weekly sessions were deemed to be well-spaced and the right length, findings suggested that the nine month duration of the programme was insufficient to address participants' needs, especially in light of problems with the follow-up process thereafter. Post-programme support, which is designed to entail regular individual sessions with a personal mentor, was largely lacking according to the graduates. It is evident that Usiko need to consider how mentor support will be implemented and monitored during future cycles of the UWWV programme. Participants identified the problem to be more than just an inadequate application of follow-up procedures by mentors. It was also the product of design issues in the follow-up structures. Participants were not unreceptive to the possibility that they could receive support from mentors, but clearly indicated that they primarily wanted continued support and contact with the facilitators and

group members. This type of support had largely been absent since their graduation from the programme, as sessions with facilitators became less frequent and most participants were unable to contact them. Those who did have cell phones and numbers for the facilitators, mentioned that they would freely contact facilitators whenever they had the need. Alkana (2006) recommends that participants should receive information regarding termination processes and programme length from the outset, in order for them to manage their expectations and be prepared to graduate and disengage when the time comes. In the findings, the girls seemed to be unprepared for the lessening of support from facilitators. In attempt to prevent pathological and continued dependence on the part of participants, and burnout on the part of facilitators, participants need to receive pre-graduation preparation and post-programme support that intentionally lessens their dependence on regular UWWV sessions (Alkana, 2006; Hill, 2007).

The programme should consider what structures can be put in place to clearly terminate the programme whilst still addressing the girls' needs for support in relevant ways. Alkana (2006) recommended, in a similar situation relating to one of Usiko's other school-based programmes for girls, that termination processes should also consider how the impending end of the programme might be threatening to the sense of cohesion and belonging that they found there. An ideal way of managing this would be for the sisterhood of girls to continue meeting informally without the facilitators present. Finding a way to structure this is potentially an avenue to offer graduates the continued support they need, without leading to unpleasant experiences of termination, and also without requiring intensive involvement from the facilitators. Furthermore, more effective communication as to what participants can expect in terms of follow-up support from facilitators is crucial.

6.2.2 Programme outcomes and impacts

Scileppi et al. (2000) define outcomes as "the benefits that (participants) received as a result of participating in the programme" (p.142). Typically, programme outcomes are considered in a short-term sense, looking for benefits that are immediately evident in participants. Programme impacts, on

the other hand, are further reaching. These entail long term benefits enjoyed by the participants and the wider community as a result of the programme (Scileppi et al., 2000). Because of the limited timeline of this study, true consideration of programme impacts is not possible. However, some enduring and further reaching benefits of the programme became apparent from the data, alongside clear immediate outcomes for participants. In this section, I group impacts and outcomes together as I consider the benefits that participants derived from the programme.

Usiko had specific short and long term aims in mind during the programme development. These included: (1) facilitation of personal growth and self-awareness, (2) development of social support and a sense of belonging, (3) ensuring a safer environment for the girls, and (4) reducing the girls' risk by encouraging and enabling healthier lifestyle choices (De Souza, 2017). The data illustrated that all of these were attained to some degree.

Facilitation of personal growth and self-awareness. Regarding self-awareness, participants gained an increased sense of awareness of their own emotional state. They discovered constructive ways to regulate their mostly intense negative emotions and reported a more constant sense of being measured and in control of (possible overwhelming) emotions. Participants reported that they had an increased ability to constructively cope with challenging situations. Increases in self-awareness and self-regulation also led to greater emotional steadiness – an ability to maintain a calm internal state, even in the face of intense (and potentially disruptive) negative emotions.

Furthermore, processes of reflection that were taught and encouraged during the programme greatly contributed to these changes in self-awareness and facilitated personal growth. This finding concurs with research findings which link reflection to the development of resilience among youths (Buckner, Mezzacappa, & Beardslee, 2003). Coulson and Harvey (2013) describe the critical awareness outcomes flowing from reflection practices. Saliently, the programme established a sense of individual identity and enabled introspection by encouraging participants to deeply reflect on their

own identity and goals. Linking a future-orientation to their reflections, participants identified career and life goals and, in many cases, developed a commitment towards achieving these goals. Furthermore, participants were challenged to grow by new experiences and challenges that they overcame during the programme. They discovered personal strength(s) (such as self-confidence, determination, courage, and agency) in themselves, and utilised these to develop in directions that served the person they were or wanted to be.

Personal growth also took place in the context of interpersonal relations, where participants demonstrated an enhanced ability to engage in relationships and constructively deal with conflict and a newfound sense of altruism. Skills such as perspective taking and effective communication, and enhanced capacities to trust others and withhold judgement, contributed to growth in this pane. Most participants in the programme voiced altruistic orientations to some degree, indicating a greater sense of connectedness and access to reciprocal social support, which is an important buffer against adverse outcomes. Care for others and empathy has also been linked to resilience among youths in the South African context (Van Breda & Theron, 2018).

These developments in participants' interpersonal relations are a clear embodiment of the iterative effect of proximal processes on different systems that Urie Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model describes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). In this case, interactions in the microsystem between the programme participant and the programme (embodied in its facilitators and co-participants) had a mesosystem impact on the individual's interactions with family members and peers. Considering Bronfenbrenner's chronosystem (see Rosa & Tudge, 2013), it can be gleaned that for the participants these changes and personal growth was a long-term impact of the programme, not just an outcome that would be present during the course of the sessions. They expected that their personal growth will continue by means of the application of the abilities they have learned during UWWV.

Development of social support and a sense of belonging. Regarding social support, the data indicated that the facilitators provided participants with a firm, authoritative and guiding support figure akin to that of a parent figure or mentor. Girls respected these facilitators and sought their opinions regarding ongoing personal issues.

Furthermore, the group was also seen as a valuable source of support by programme participants. The theme of sisterhood was a strong indicator that the programme achieved what it set out to do in terms of developing social support and a sense of belonging. The girls described a close, companionate and supporting bond that developed between them as a group. Evidently, belonging to the group promoted the relational well-being of the participants. In accordance with Prilleltensky and Nelson's (2002) model of well-being, well-being in this domain transferred to greater collective well-being (e.g., providing a social support network for at-risk females in the community) and greater personal well-being (i.e., individual mental health and sense of personal identity). The sisterhood was depicted as a safe social space where they were accepted and affirmed. In their comments, the girls showed a high degree of commitment towards the group and other group members. They recounted incidents where they chose allegiance to this identity above antisocial association and risky behaviours. This was a promising indicator of the buffering value that the group identity could have for the girls against social options that would be detrimental to their well-being. More than just providing a sense of identity, the group provided the girls with support. This entailed direct advice and emotional support regarding personal disclosures, as well as identification with stories and struggles shared by other participants. The latter enabled participants to see that they were not alone and to learn from other participants' experiences and approaches. Participant reports seemed to indicate that the sisterhood-bond among group members was long-lasting and there was an expectation that this bond would remain long after programme completion. Findings are promising in terms of the potential continuing protective and supportive impact that the sisterhood could have.

Indirectly, the positive relational changes brought forth by the programme, allowed participants to access better social support from parents and other caretakers. Many reported that these relationships had been strained beforehand. After the programme, participants mostly reported that they were closer to their parents, and that interactions entailed much less conflict. Some also mentioned that they communicated more freely with their parents, and that they were bold enough to share about issues that they previously were not able to talk to their parents about. Again, drawing from Prilleltensky and Nelson's (2002) model, we see how promotion of relational well-being contributed to personal well-being, as participants' psycho-emotional health improved in concert with their relationships with their parents. In gang research, Wolf and Gutierrez (2012) have described how the enhancement of parent-child relationships plays a huge role in buffering youths against the potential effects of gangs.

Considering the participants' overall increased sense of social support in terms of Bronfenbrenner's theory, one sees how regular close contact with facilitators, group members and parents strengthened proximal processes in the microsystem. According to Bronfenbrenner (1994), increases in frequency of such interactions increase the potential of proximal processes to enhance individual development and to lead to beneficial outcomes. Based upon this relation to the theory, I deduce that the programme had a positive impact on the social functioning and connectedness of the participants. However, considering micro-time changes (withdrawal of facilitator support and decreases in group contact) (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), the durability of this impact is still to be assessed. Additions and/or alterations to the programme structure might be necessary to ensure that the micro-time contributions to proximal processes carry over into macro-time effects that can uplift the broader community in the long run (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Ensuring a safer environment for the girls. The programme was limited in its ability to materially provide a safe space for participants, as it was geared towards developing individual capacities, rather than remedying the context. Most participants reported some form of exposure to gangs, and some gave accounts of frequent exposure to gang activities that were potentially very

dangerous. Instead of directly addressing these, the programme attempted to create a therapeutic safe space where participants could grow and develop resilience to overcome such problems. This is in line with Bronfenbrenner's view that proximal processes (i.e., relational interactions) in the context, rather than the context itself, determines developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Psycho-emotionally, a sense of belonging and safety was established by the programme through the acceptance and affirmation of group members, and the non-judgemental attitude of facilitators. Trust was a key ingredient in this supporting group dynamic. It enabled participants to confide in other group members and receive their support, without fear of being exposed, judged or rejected. According to Van Breda and Theron (2018), experiences of affective support, acceptance, belonging and being valued are key contributors to resilience outcomes among adolescents. Pinnock (2016) emphasises the importance of creating (emotionally) safe spaces that facilitate such experiences in interventions for exactly these reasons. The relational safe space of the group was a transformative space, where participants could envision the future they wanted and commit to the changes that this would require.

Reducing girls' risk by encouraging and enabling healthier lifestyle choices. This aim was met to some extent. The data indicated that the programme was very successful in encouraging participants to adopt and enhance constructive coping mechanisms and promotive behaviours. It also actively discouraged risk behaviours. The programme's encouragement and support of the girls in making healthy lifestyle choices, led to a potent combination of agency, determination and courage, that allowed them to face the challenge of changing (Newman & Blackburn, 2002; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). Particularly, graduates demonstrated a capacity for what Van Breda and Theron (2018) termed *adaptive meaning-making* as a result of their participation in the programme. They reframed challenges into opportunities and embodied a hopeful attitude regarding future possibilities. Exposure to new experiences and difficult emotions, emerged as a particularly impacting process during the programme, as it created a challenge for participants. Participants enjoyed the excitement of the unknown and overcoming such challenges led to a sense of mastery and greater self-confidence.

Participants also extracted valuable learnings from these experiences, as they (scaffolded by facilitator's debriefings) drew parallels with their own lives (Hill, 2007). For most of them, these learnings carried empowering messages regarding their ability to overcome obstacles. The confidence they gained from successes and learnings in the programme, was transferred to their real-life contexts. Van Breda and Theron's (2018) meta-analysis clearly linked these abilities to the enhancement of resilience in local youths. Furthermore, participants seemed to have internalised support from the others, so that they were much more supportive of their own endeavours to make good choices and build successful lives after the programme. I thus conclude from the data that overcoming challenges as part of the programme empowered and emboldened participants to also overcome challenges outside of the programme, and in their personal lives and community.

The current study's findings allude to an internal sense of validation and accomplishment that female participants derived from experiences of overcoming challenges. This finding illuminated a gender-difference that should be considered in interventions for girls. In intervention literature, approaches that include challenge and opportunities for youths to prove themselves, are usually aimed at addressing the adolescent's need for peer group validation (Albertse, 2007; Pinnock, 2016). However, approaches linking such a need for external validation to the risk for gang involvement mostly focus on male adolescents' needs and outcomes. Consciously focusing on opportunities for self-validation is a promising approach for interventions aimed at females, since these experiences address some of the psychological needs that typically dominate females' motivations for gang-involvement (Sutton, 2017). By incorporating self-validating experiences, the UWWV programme effectively intervened with possible gang involvement by providing a healthier alternative.

Because the intervention did not address home circumstances and material needs, it had less success in practically enabling healthier lifestyle choices than in encouraging these. Physical intervention with participants' material circumstances was kept to the bare minimum – only one participant was aided with programme support to enrol in a school in another district, in an attempt to

escape aggravated circumstances in her home. Therefore, although the programme encouraged participants to avoid risky behaviours and associations and to adopt behaviours that would enhance their well-being, the programme did not remove any of the direct threats and impediments to well-being that the girls face daily. However, one way in which the intervention did enable change, was through practical, one-on-one support offered by facilitators to participants whom they knew were struggling with particular issues. Participants highlighted the practical, step-by-step advice and constant support that the facilitators provided in situations that the girls had to address in their own lives. Non-directive, supporting facilitation is theoretically grounded in Lev Vygotsky's well-known process of *scaffolding* (see Shah & Rashid, 2017). Usiko's implementation of the scaffolding process was found to be effective and contributed greatly to encouraging and enabling healthier lifestyle choices among UWWV participants.

However, it remains to be seen how enduring programme outcomes will be. Recidivism has also been noted in some participants' behaviours. In a meta-analysis of studies considering the effectiveness of wilderness therapy interventions for youth at risk, a self-reported recidivism rate of 29% was found among programme graduates (Hill, 2007). This confirms that a measure of recidivism is to be expected in any programme. Bronfenbrenner's conceptualisation of developmental outcomes may be used to consider causes of recidivism in this particular context. Person characteristics (e.g., a specific participant's resource or force characteristics that might hamper them from effectively engaging in the constructive processes offered by the programme), post-programme dynamics in the micro- and meso-system (e.g., a lack of continued support and encouragement), or issues at the exo- and macrosystem level (i.e., programme-related internal changes not being strong enough to withstand contextual challenges and obstacles that continue to exist) could all have contributed to the participants' inability to maintain programme changes (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Nonetheless, most participants reported that positive outcomes were still present at the time of the interview. Some even

reported that constructive changes were still taking place. This creates a hopeful picture regarding long-term impacts of the UWWV programme.

6.2.3 Attainment of programme goals

The overarching goal of the UWWV programme was to prevent gang involvement in the group of at-risk participants. Programme developers aimed to achieve this by offering the participants a prosocial alternative to address the needs that may lead to their involvement in gangs.

A key finding referring to the success of the programme in achieving these goals, is the theme of sisterhood. Females have been found exceptionally likely to seek belonging and acceptance in gangs (Saavedra, 2015; Sutton, 2017). The programme successfully fended off this risk by providing a prosocial group identity and a place of belonging. The participants reported that they found a safe place where they belonged and could feel part of the group. In terms of Prilleltensky and Nelson's (2002) multi- and inter-level conceptualisation of well-being, it was clear how relational well-being and collective well-being were mutually and iteratively promoted by participants' belonging to this social unit. The social support network expanded resources available to females within this community context. Furthermore, development of well-being in these two spheres reciprocally influenced and was influenced by multiple changes in personal well-being (described in the programme outcomes and impacts). The programme contributed to an enhanced sense of well-being by balancing satisfaction of personal, relational and collective needs (Naidoo et al., 2008).

Other needs that the programme targeted included coping mechanisms and directions for making a living in the future. Unhealthy coping mechanisms, such as alcohol-use and drugs, have been linked to gangsterism (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012; Goodwill, 2009). Illegal substance abuse, especially, implies involvement with gangs who run the local communities' illicit market networks (Western Cape Government, 2013). Participants' reports of ceasing their marijuana-usage are thus a great triumph on the programme's part.

Furthermore, girls received information and encouragement relating to their schoolwork and future careers during programme sessions. This established and enhanced their work-related commitments. In their research, Van Breda and Theron (2018) linked relevant career aspirations and academic dedication to increased resilience amongst local youths. Albertse (2007) reported that youth from impoverished and gang-saturated communities often saw no alternatives to gang-involvement when considering possible future success. Providing viable career alternatives to participants thus buffered them against the drawing-power of gangsterism. Considering their options in the context of the programme, it strengthened participants' resolve to not become involved in risky behaviours or social circles that would compromise their futures. They were established in their sense of agency to overcome contextual obstacles by the challenges they had to overcome in the programme. Such successes empowered the participants with a resolve and a self-belief that they can achieve the same in the world outside (Van Breda & Theron, 2018). The established self-belief and a sense of purpose, coupled with critical awareness and self-assertion, made these girls much less likely to compromise prosocial behaviours. Saliently, participants embodied an ability to stand against the pressures from peers to become involved in risky behaviours and/or gangs. Peer pressure has been found to significantly contribute to gang-involvement in the local context (Anthonissen, 2011; Fabrik, 2007).

Considering the above, I conclude that the programme succeeded in raising the girls' awareness of both the risks that they are faced with and the resources and support they have at their disposal. It achieved the community psychology aims of capacity building and conscientisation (Lazarus et al., 2014), and the programme aims of preventing risky behaviours that pre-empt involvement with gang members.

However, a limitation of the programme was that it failed to provide in the material needs that lead adolescent females to seek out sustenance in gangs. Some of the girls lived in impoverished circumstances and did not have access to basic needs, such as sanitary products or money for transport to school. Others experienced verbal abuse and constant conflict at home, and needed a place where

they could get away from this. Being unable to address these needs in any other way, they are vulnerable to the option of finding a gang-involved boyfriend to provide what they need for or seeking refuge with a gang (Aguilar Umaña & Rikkers, 2012; Saavedra, 2015). Although the programme affectively provided a psychological and social safe space for participants, developers should consider how they will address these needs more practically in the future. Pinnock (2016) stresses that community safe spaces need to be created in a material sense as well, especially for adolescents to be buffered more effectively against the risks that gangs pose. He admits to some challenges in this regard and calls for greater involvement from the larger society and state. Considering both Pinnock's and the current research's findings, the continued role of the exo- and macrosystem in perpetuating girls' risk to gangs (despite intervention efforts) is clear. Thus, to effectively create a safe space for these girls, holistic and multilevel intervention is needed. It must include reform on a broader level, to intervene with the effects that discriminatory systems and oppressive patriarchal norms have on the girls. When these supplement smaller scale interventions targeted at the local context and the individual, the impact of microlevel approaches, such as the UWWV, will be optimised.

Furthermore, participants recommended that sessions should address the issue of gangsterism and girls' contact with gang members more explicitly. In the data, not all the participants displayed the ability to connect the issues that the programme had dealt with, with the presence of gangs in their community and lives. Not all of them knew how to apply their learnings to their involvement with gangs, and when considering Coulson and Harvey's (2013) research, this was to be expected. It was mostly the participants who already displayed a clear anti-gang attitude that picked up from indirect approaches in the programme and strengthened their position and/or became more critically aware of gangs and their impact. However, girls who directly and overtly associated with gangs saw their gang-associations as quite independent of everything they learned and did at UWWV. The community-based research partner advocated that the programme could use a more direct approach to ensure that gang-

involved participants also benefit from the programme's intention to limit gang contact and establish anti-gang attitudes.

However, this should be carefully navigated, as some participants had friends and family members involved in gangs. They did not choose to associate with them because they were gangsters but had established relationships that often preceded these individuals' involvement with gangs. This is an important consideration that is often overlooked in research. Top-down approaches tend to problematise gang-associated individuals and fail to consider them as relational human beings who are also the victims of a problematic social structure which is much bigger than they are (Pinnock, 2016). The study found that participants with gang-involved friends and family needed support in navigating these relationships. Direct guidance could have helped them to maintain healthy relationships and not problematise "gangsters", whilst also enabling them to protect themselves and avoid contact with gang activities. Although these girls often developed some self-protective measures of their own accord and tended to avoid dangerous gang activities, a critical awareness around the risks of their associations was largely underdeveloped.

Thus, what the findings suggested, is that the programme succeeded in strengthening the anti-gang attitudes of participants who already avoided gang-involvement prior to their enrolment in the programme. It also gave them an option for socialising and fun, which they had not had before (most of the girls reported that they mainly stayed at home to avoid gangs). However, for the girls who had more frequent and direct gang-exposure through drug use and friendly associations, the programme failed to deter contact with gangs. This suggests that differing degrees of risk were at play and, as is prescribed in the literature, these necessitated different forms of intervention (see Lindberg et al., 2011; Moore & Hagedorn, 2001; Radebe, 2012). For girls who were at risk because of indirect exposure, the programme succeeded in socially buffering them from the adverse conditions present in their community and prevented gang association. However, for the girls who were already directly involved or associated with gangs, the programme did not necessarily adequately address the circumstances and

attitudes underlying their risk behaviour. More intensive intervention that targets gangsterism explicitly and directly intervenes with material circumstances and personal relationships, might be needed here. This concurs with existing intervention knowledge which asserts that prevention of gang involvement is much easier than remediation and disentanglement (Buthelezi, 2012; Pyrooz, 2014). Further, it re-emphasises the need for approaches that are sensitive to intersections of risk and the multiple ways in which different demographic indicators might put members of a seemingly homogeneous group at risk in different ways (Hill Collins, 2015; Vigil, 2008). Interventions should consider this and be tailored to address the specific needs of the specific individuals that they are working with. The UWWV programme should consider how they can accommodate different levels and compositions of personal risk within their intervention groups. If the programme cannot adequately service both high and low risk participants, recruitment and selection processes should be fine-tuned to ensure that a more homogenous group (in terms of level of risk) is enrolled for a programme from the outset, ensuring that all participants might optimally benefit from the programme.

6.3 Contributions and Implications

This project has actively contributed to capacity building within the local community, whilst also generating research outputs that address a crucial gap in the existing psychological literature. The research produced findings that may inform professional practice and community-based interventions. Core findings included confirmation of gender differences that are described in the literature pertaining to adolescent gang-involvement, and identification of methods to satisfy gender-specific needs that often pre-empt gang involvement in girls. These should inform future interventions for girls at risk in similar contexts. Furthermore, the research identified areas for improvement that the partner-NGO, Usiko Stellenbosch, will find useful in the application of future cycles of the UWWV intervention programme.

Regarding the vulnerabilities that place adolescent girls in marginalised communities at risk to gangsterism, this study confirmed that material needs are a salient antecedent to possible gang-

involvement. Furthermore, I found that these girls do not make an overt decision to associate with gangs and gangsters. Pre-existing relationships evolve into such associations, as friends, brothers and classmates become involved in gangs. With family members, in particular, it is not always possible for the girls to distance themselves from gang-involved brothers, cousins, etc. These men often live with them in close quarters and their activities might be the main source of income and protection for the household (see Goodwill, 2009; Hayward & Honegger, 2014; Pinnock, 2016, and Saavedra, 2015, for similar findings). This implies that consideration of the different spheres of participants' social system, and the ways in which these play out practically in material needs and relationships, should be more explicitly considered in intervention work.

Interventions should aim to support participants in navigating these relationships and avoiding the risks that they might entail, rather than blindly prescribing termination of such relationships. In this key finding, the study illuminates how both research and practice, even of a community-psychology orientation, still decontextualises individuals and problematises people, without a critical consideration of the root causes of social problems and multi-level influence that lead to maladaptive attempts at coping and potentially harmful associations.

Furthermore, the research re-emphasised the need for target specific interventions addressing the unique intersections of risks and vulnerabilities that put each individual at risk to gangsterism. It confirmed the effectiveness of the UWWV programme in addressing the specific needs of late-adolescent girls at risk in the target community, but also illuminated how even more tailored approaches can be developed and applied in specific cases.

Although there was some overlap in terms of what has worked in interventions with male adolescents, the study illuminated the gender-differences in intervention needs. Adapting interventions accordingly is a research-intensive and time-consuming endeavour. However, it is the only way forward in ensuring equitable access to interventions for adolescents of both genders in gang-saturated

communities. This study found that, in contrast to boys (who require peer group validation), the adolescent girl needs to overcome challenges in the intervention to prove herself to herself. This empowers and encourages girls to overcome obstacles outside of the programme. A further contribution of the study to knowledge regarding intervention with female adolescents at risk, was the confirmation of the buffering and promotive effect that belonging to a cohesive social unit has. The programme's sisterhood provided girls with support and a group identity that mitigated many of the social and psychological vulnerabilities that motivate females to become involved with gangs. As females are particularly likely to seek belonging and acceptance in gangs, the benefits of the sisterhood are especially strong for them. The sisterhood also creates a platform for girls to speak up and be heard, and to connect to other role players in their social network. As such, it is an empowering and capacitating space which should be considered for utilisation in future intervention programmes.

This study considered how specific vulnerabilities of female adolescence can (and should) be addressed, to prevent gang association. Notwithstanding its exploratory design, data from this study provided sufficient evidence, from the viewpoint of participants, to conclude that the UWWV programme had a positive effect in reducing gang risk. The positive effect was shown in reducing risk behaviours associated with female adolescents at risk to gang-involvement. The research validated the continued application of the intervention in the target community. Particular elements of the programme structure and facilitation style were highlighted as effective means of preventing gang-involvement in adolescent females. These included nature-based outings and expeditions that included an element of the unknown, some adventure, a conducive reflective space, and a healthy challenge. Facilitator-led debriefings of these activities were crucial in ensuring thorough reflection and the extraction of relevant learnings for application in the participants' own lives. Activities that involved and encouraged reflection strengthened the impact of lessons learnt from different programme components and contributed to the application of these in the participants' actual lives. All of these components should continue to be included in the UWWV programme and similar interventions.

The study also generated recommendations for future applications of the UWWV intervention in the focus community. These focus on three main areas, namely making the focus on gangsterism more explicit and including intervention with material circumstances, where possible, and improving post-programme follow-up (by better preparing participants for termination and establishing more effective supporting structures).

Lastly, in terms of the partnership with the community, the study illustrated how community-based research can be conducted by students in a community-led, empowering and sustainable way. Specifically, approaches used in this study have challenged traditional approaches (in the mainstream and in community psychology), where the researcher determines research foci and timelines (Collins et al., 2018; Lazarus et al., 2015). Furthermore, I have modelled multi-level, long-term involvement on the part of the researcher, which fostered authentic relationships with community partners and an ecological and richer understanding of their experiences. The community-based NGO benefitted from access to the literature pertaining to their intervention focus, co-contributed to an empirical validation of their intervention and also gained a dedicated member on their intervention development and facilitation team. My work with Usiko contributed to both their and my own professional aims, and the partnership will be maintained in future projects.

Personally, involvement in this project has been enriching to me as a community psychologist and a person. Saliently, I learnt about constructive criticism (seeing shortcomings as limitations to be addressed, rather than faults to be criticised) and about not problematising people when there is a broader social system at fault. My involvement with this topic of study has challenged my naïve ignorance regarding gangsterism and its effects in my local and the broader Western Cape. It has increased my critical awareness of social issues impacting communities outside of my normal daily sphere and led me to also include these marginalised communities in my framework of “my people”. I have been privileged to be able to learn from the youth workers at Usiko, and to build relationships with many beautiful and strong young women in the community.

6.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The community psychology approach prescribes a contextualised and committed, thus relationally intensive, approach (Collins et al., 2018; Lazarus et al., 2014). In this case, it meant in-depth involvement in one community-based intervention for girls at risk to gangsterism. Although all available 2017 UWWV pilot graduates were invited to participate in the study, the number of participants was severely limited by the small size of the sample frame (only 12 girls participated in the initial UWWV programme) and the boundaries of ethical research (minors had to be excluded from the sampling frame). The sample thus consisted of only eight participants who had been of age at the time of data collection. Furthermore, the participants were all relatively similar. Another limitation, from the onset, was that participation in both the programme and interviews was entirely voluntary. This created the likelihood of bias, as participants who had a positive experience of the programme would naturally be more willing to take part in the interviews than those who had less favourable experiences. Furthermore, the one participant who decided to opt out of the follow-up phase of the programme, was not of age. Her account would have provided a useful alternative perspective on the programme, but could not be accessed, due to ethical constraints.

A final limitation on the sample was that only feedback discussions which were recorded and securely stored in Usiko's archives could be used as group data for the analyses. Not all Usiko's feedback sessions were captured, and some of the archived videos were cut off before the end of the session. This meant that the study also had a limited group of archival discussions to sample from.

Considering these sample constraints, I must caution that findings cannot be generalised to all adolescent girls at risk to gangs in South Africa, nor should they be construed as a representation of what all girls experience in a prevention intervention aimed at mitigating gang involvement. However, in spite of this, the study did yield a rich description of the experiences of the girls who participated in this intervention. Their opinions will likely have some resonance with girls from similar backgrounds in gang-plagued communities.

A further limitation to the research was my positioning and how that affected both the participants and my own understandings of their accounts (although this may also have been a strength). The findings collected from interactions with participants were dependant on what the participants told me and how. I am aware that my brought self (Reinharz cited in Guba & Lincoln, 2005) as a young white, Afrikaans speaking, middle-class, university educated woman provided a two-way filter to the research process. Another researcher might have been told entirely different stories or could have found different meanings in interpreting their accounts. Participants might not have been entirely honest with me, because they did not trust me or they wanted to manage impressions by telling me the type of things that they thought I wanted to hear. In this way, interviewer effects are likely to have had an effect on different phases of data collection and meaning-making (Stangor, 2015). Furthermore, my interpretations only present one view of a complex and dynamic process. Other, valid interpretations might exist, but due to my own positioning, the study is limited to what I could see and understand of the girls' accounts of their experiences in UWWV. However, regardless of these limitations, the findings were grounded in the girls' direct accounts and aimed to give voice to their experiences, rather than my interpretations thereof.

Lastly, time constraints were a clear limiting factor in the study. Interviews took place almost a year after the girls graduated from UWWV. Although this allowed for a better perspective on the lasting, medium-term impacts of the programme, it did compromise the accuracy that immediate feedback would have had. Hindsight bias and forgetting of details probably entered the data to some extent (Weiten, 2014). University hand-in dates, exam pressures for many of the participants and limited funding also meant that I could not spend a great amount of time exploring specific themes in more depth and with follow-up interviews. Nor could I investigate long-term outcomes across the participants' lifespan. The study was thus bound to exploratory accounts of overarching themes that were immediately discernible. There is a clear need for in-depth descriptions and long-term impact to be described in follow-up studies.

Regarding future studies, we need to explore the motivations for and the nature of adolescent girls' gang-involvement more deeply if we aim to understand and change the pervasive entanglement and victimisation they experience. Furthermore, local research needs to identify specific factors that place girls at risk in the South African context, as this would greatly deepen our understanding and enhance our intervention strategies.

Regarding intervention, more research is needed to inform interventions for females from all around the world (see Lindberg et al., 2011; Webber, 2017; and UK Centre for Social Justice, 2014, respectively). As professionals, we have a responsibility to start pooling knowledge and planning interventions. In the South African context, formal development and assessment of both preventative and remedial programmes for girls at risk to gangsterism are needed in all disadvantaged communities in and around Cape Town (Dziewanski, 2014). In the specific community that this study was involved in, programmes aimed at younger girls are needed to intervene from early adolescence and to supplement Usiko's work with late adolescents.

To conclude, gangsterism is an entrenched societal problem hounding countless youths in the disadvantaged communities of the Western Cape (Buthelezi, 2012; SAPS, 2016). However, when looking a bit deeper, one sees that the problem is not the gang, it is the fact that society, the community and the family is failing to provide for youth, whilst gangs are not. Gangs form an alternative means to address desperately frustrated material, social and psychological needs of individuals (Bubolz & Simi, 2015). The strings attach to this deal entangle and strangle those who become involved (Pinnock, 2016). Preliminary indications are that these gangs have particularly adverse effects on those who are multiply vulnerable; those adolescent members that gang patriarchy considers to be the "weaker" gender (Nydegger et al., 2017). This is therefore not a conclusion, but rather the starting point for the development of in-depth and contextualised understandings of adolescent girls' interactions with and risk of gangs.

This thesis described some promising findings regarding the effectiveness of one local intervention. It has also identified reflection, group-based sharing and overcoming challenges as particularly effective “vehicles of change” in intervening with adolescent girls’ risk to gangsterism. It is a summary of the little that we know regarding girls at risk to gang-involvement, leading to an invitation to learn more and do more, both in academia and in community contexts where adolescent girls are at risk to gangsterism.

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APPENDIX A

PERMISSION TO USE ARCHIVAL DATA

Usiko Stellenbosch
37 Webers Valley Road, Jamestown, Stellenbosch, 7600
Western Cape, South Africa
Tel: 021 880 2157
<http://usiko.org.za/>
www.facebook.com/UsikoSTB/



20 June 2018

To whom it may concern

Permission is hereby granted to Suné Pohl to use existing recordings of focus groups and meetings conducted by Usiko for the purposes of evaluating and improving the Women with Vision (WOV) project.

Specifically, permission is granted for the use of audio recordings of the focus groups conducted by Ms Pohl and Christina Jooste (WOV facilitator) upon conclusion of the first cycle/pilot of the Women with Vision project.

Please contact me on the above office line for any further queries.

Kind regards

Imanuella Muller
Programme Manager

APPENDIX B

QUALITY-ASSURANCE CHECK LIST FOR THEMATIC ANALYSIS

In their seminal article on thematic analysis as a distinguishable and established approach in qualitative research, Braun and Clarke (2006) recommended that five potential pitfalls should be considered when conducting the analysis. I made use of these in a check list format, to reflect on the reliability and validity of my analysis:

Potential pitfall	Did I address this?
Failure to sufficiently analyse themes (reports just providing a list of grouped extracts).	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Using data collection questions as themes.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Weak or unconvincing analysis, leading to themes that overlap / that are not internally consistent. Analysis fails to provide sufficient evidence for its argument.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mismatch between data and analytic claims made based on the data.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mismatch between theory and analytic claims, or between the research questions and the form of thematic analysis used.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Date:

Time:

Participant:

Notes pertaining to prior analysis that should be addressed in current interview:

Hello _____, baie dankie dat jy hier is om vandag met my te gesels. Ons gaan saam gesels oor Women with Vision, hoe dit vir jou was en wat jy geleer het. Is dit reg met jou? (*Hello _____, thank you so much for agreeing to chat to me today. We are going to discuss Women with Vision, how you experienced the programme and what you learnt from it. Is that okay with you?*)

Jy moet asseblief kennis neem dat ek deur die wet en beginsel vereis word om toekomstige misdaad en kindermishandeling aan te meld. Indien jy vir my van so iets vertel, sal ek dit moet aanmeld by die polisie en/of 'n berader wat jou sal kan help. Dit geld ook indien jy my sou vertel van ander minderjariges wat mishandel word, of van iemand wat dit in die verlede met jou gedoen het en moontlik steeds kinders mishandel. Verstaan jy dat dit my plig is? (*Please be informed that I am required by law and ethical principle to report future crime and abuse towards minors. If you tell me about something like this, I will have to report it to the police and/or a counsellor who will be able to help you. This will also apply if you tell me about other minors who are being abused, or about abuse in your past by someone who might still be abusing children. Do you understand that this is my duty?*)

En verstaan jy dat jy self kan besluit of jy my hiervan vertel of nie? (*And do you understand that it is your own decision whether you want to tell me about these things or not?*)

Vertel my bietjie van jouself. (Hoe oud is jy, hoe lyk jou familie, wie is jou vriende en hoe spandeer julle gewoonlik julle tyd?)

(You can start by just telling me a but more about yourself. (How old are you, what is your family like, who are your friends and how do you usually spend your time?))

Nou kan jy bietjie dink aan Women with Vision. Hoe was die program vir jou? (Ervarings: goed / sleg / uitdagend)

Now if you think about the Women with Vision project, how did you experience that? Experiences: good / bad / challenging)

Watse impak het Women with Vision op jou gehad?

(What type of impact did Women with Vision have on you?)

Watse aanbevelings sal jy vir Usiko wil maak vir die volgende Women with Vision groep?

(What recommendations would you like to make to Usiko for the next Women with Vision group?)

Dankie. Het jy enige verder vrae of opmerkings rakende ons gesprek? Enige iets wat jy sal wil byvoeg?

(Thank you. Do you have any further questions or comments regarding our discussion? Anything that you would like to add, maybe?)

APPENDIX D

ETHICAL PERMISSION



NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

27 July 2018

Project number: 7086

Project Title: Exploring the Experiences of Programme Graduates of a Preventative Intervention Pilot for Girls at Risk to Gang Activity

Dear Ms Susanna Pohl

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 5 July 2018 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
27 July 2018	26 July 2019

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (7086) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Data collection tool	Focus Groups	24/04/2018	
Proof of permission	US Permission letter SM Pohl	27/04/2018	
Research Protocol/Proposal	SM Pohl Proposal Final (02-07)	02/07/2018	Revised (2nd)
Informed Consent Form	Consent form	03/07/2018	2nd
Information sheet	Info sheet	03/07/2018	2nd
Data collection tool	Interview schedule	03/07/2018	2nd
Data collection tool	Usiko permission to use recordings	03/07/2018	1st
Proof of permission	Usiko permission to use recordings	03/07/2018	1st
Default	Letter of response to REC	03/07/2018	
Default	Usiko counsellor letter	03/07/2018	

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

*National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.*

Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrollment. You may not recruit or enroll participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period**. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur**. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrollment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You **may not initiate** any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the REC's requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments, all informed consent documents, recruiting materials, continuing review reports, adverse or unanticipated events, and all correspondence from the REC.

8. Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9. Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrollment, interventions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10. On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

APPENDIX E

ORGANISATIONAL PERMISSION

Usiko Stellenbosch
37 Webers Valley Road, Jamestown, Stellenbosch, 7600
Western Cape, South Africa
Tel: 021 880 2157
<http://usiko.org.za/>
www.facebook.com/UsikoSTB/



23 March 2018

To whom it may concern

Permission is hereby granted to Sune Pohl to conduct her research under the auspices of Usiko Stellenbosch on its global initiative with high school girls. This initiative is called Women with Vision and will be conducted at Cloeteville Secondary school.

We also give her permission to conduct one on one interviews, attend meetings and make recordings of sessions.

Please contact me on the above office line for any further queries.

Kind regards

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Arnold Okkers', is written over a light blue horizontal line.

Arnold Okkers
Executive Director

APPENDIX F

STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Woman with Vision

It has been a privilege to see you grow and learn as you participated in Usiko's first ever Women with Vision programme!

Because you were part of an entirely new programme, we would like to get your feedback on how it was for you and how it impacted you. This feedback will be used in a formal evaluation study, so that we can properly look at the Women with Vision programme, and make sure that it is the best programme it could possibly be.

As you know, my name is Suné Pohl. I am a Psychology Master's student at Stellenbosch University, and a volunteer worker at Usiko. We met during the programme last year. I will be doing this research project to obtain my MA Psychology Research degree. I am inviting you to take part in this study, because you were one of only 12 girls who were part of the first Women With Vision Project in 2017, and you are older than 18. You have very valuable experience and knowledge of what the programme is like.

For the study, I will meet with you to discuss your experience of the programme, how it has (or has not) changed you, and how you think it could be made better. We will also discuss what life and being a girl in your community is like for you. We will discuss different things about your life, like:

- What is difficult
- What is nice
- What obstacles you face
- What opportunities you have
- What you street or school or community is like
- What you think about the future
- How you spend your free time
- Who your friends are

We will meet at a special venue in the University's Psychology Department / at the Usiko offices. Our talk will be about an hour long, and refreshments will be provided. You can choose which of the following dates and times will best suit you:

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Monday,
20 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friday,
24 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday,
28 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday,
1 September
10:00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday,
21 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday,
25 August
10:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Wednesday,
29 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday,
1 September
15:00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wednesday,
22 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Saturday,
25 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Thursday,
30 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Monday,
3 September
15:00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Thursday,
23 August
10:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Monday,
27 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Friday,
31 August
15:00 | <input type="checkbox"/> Tuesday,
4 September
15:00 |

The decision to take part in these discussions will be entirely up to you. If you would like to take part, you will sign a document stating that you have freely consented to take part in the study. Unfortunately, you may only take part in this study if you are 18 years or older.

All the discussions I have with you, will be recorded and then used to write my study. Only me, Uncle Tony Naidoo and Christina Jooste at the Usiko office will have access to the recordings. I will use them to write a report of the study, which will be given to Usiko. My thesis and some academic articles will also use this information, but it will make sure to not mention your name or other details that make it obvious that you said that.

Please be informed that I am required by law and ethical principle to report future crime and abuse towards minors. If you tell me about something like this, I will have to report it to the police and/or a counsellor who will be able to help you. This will also apply if you tell me about other minors who are being abused, or about abuse in your past by someone who might still be abusing children.

If you have any other questions about my study, please phone or whatsapp me:

Suné Pohl

Cell: 071 887 5739

Email: 21457395@sun.ac.za

If you experience any distress because of the study, your participation in Women with Vision, or personal issues, the support of Imanuella Muller, Usiko's counsellor, is available. You can go see her on Fridays between 08:00 and 11:00. Contact her at:

Usiko Stellenbosch

Tel: 021 880 2157

Cell: 061 304 5432

Email: imanuela@usikostb.org.za

Physical address: 37 Webersvallei road, Jamestown, Stellenbosch

I am looking forward to hear from you!

Best wishes,

Suné

Geagte Woman with Vision

Dit was 'n voorreg om jou te sien groei en leer in die loop van jou deelname van Usiko se heel eerste Women with Vision program!

Omdat hierdie program waarvan jy deel was heeltemal nuut was, wil ons graag jou terugvoer kry oor hoe dit vir jou was en watse impak dit op jou gehad het. Hierdie terugvoer sal gebruik word in 'n formele evaluasie-studie, sodat ons die Women with Vision program ordentlik kan ondersoek en seker kan maak dat dit so goed as moontlik is.

Soos jy reeds weet, is my naam Suné Pohl. Ek is 'n meestersstudent in Sielkunde by Stellenbosch Universiteit en 'n vrywilliger vir Usiko. Ons het ontmoet tydens die program laas jaar. Ek gaan hierdie navorsingsprojek doen om my MA-graad in Navorsingsielkunde te verkry. Ek nooi jou om deel te wees van my studie, omdat jy in 2017 een van net 12 meisies in die heel eerste Women with Vision groep was en omdat jy ouer as 18 jaar is. Jy het baie waardevolle ervarings en kennis oor hoe die program is.

Vir die studie sal ek met jou ontmoet om te praat oor jou ervaring van die program, hoe dit jou verander het (aldan nie) en hoe jy dink dit beter gemaak kan word. Ons sal ook praat oor jou lewe en jou ervaringe in jou gemeenskap. Jy kan miskien verskillende dinge in jou lewe te beskryf, byvoorbeeld:

- Wat moeilik is
- Wat lekker is
- Watter uitdagings jy in die gesig staar
- Watter geleenthede jy het
- Hoe jou straat, skool of gemeenskap is
- Wat jy oor die toekoms dink
- Hoe jy jou vrye tyd spandeer
- Wie jou vriende is

Ons sal in 'n spesiale lokaal by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch se Sielkunde Departement ontmoet. Ons gesprek sal ongeveer 'n uur lank wees en verversings sal in daardie tyd voorsien word. Jy sal kan kies watter een van die volgende dae vir jou pas:

<input type="checkbox"/> Maandag, 20 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Vrydag, 24 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Dinsdag, 28 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Saterdag, 1 September 10:00
<input type="checkbox"/> Dinsdag, 21 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Saterdag, 25 Augustus 13:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Woensdag, 29 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Saterdag, 1 September 15:00
<input type="checkbox"/> Woensdag, 22 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Saterdag, 25 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Donderdag, 30 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Maandag 3 September 15:00
<input type="checkbox"/> Donderdag, 23 Augustus 10:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Maandag, 27 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Vrydag, 31 Augustus 15:00	<input type="checkbox"/> Dinsdag 4 September 15:00

Die besluit om aan hierdie besprekings deel te neem is heeltemal jou eie. Indien jy sou kies om deel te wees, sal jy 'n dokument moet teken wat sê dat jy vrywilliglik ingestem het daartoe. Ongelukkig mag jy slegs deelneem aan die studie indien jy ouer as 18 jaar is.

Al die besprekings wat ek met jou het, sal opgeneem word en dan gebruik word om my studie te skryf. Slegs ek, Uncle Tony Naidoo en Christina Jooste van die Usiko kantoor, sal toegang tot die opnames hê. My meesters-tesis en 'n paar akademiese artikels sal ook gebruik van die inligting maak, maar sal sorg neem om seker te maak dat jou naam en ander details wat met jou gekoppel kan word, nie weergegee word nie.

Neem asseblief kennis dat ek deur die wet en beginsel vereis word om toekomstige misdaad en kindermishandeling aan te meld. Indien jy vir my van so iets vertel, sal ek dit moet aanmeld by die polisie en/of 'n berader wat jou sal kan help. Dit geld ook indien jy my sou vertel van ander minderjariges wat mishandel word, of van iemand wat dit in die verlede met jou gedoen het en moontlik steeds kinders mishandel.

Indien jy enige vrae oor my studie het, kan jy my bel of whatsapp:

Suné Pohl

Sel: 071 887 5739

Epos: 21457395@sun.ac.za

Indien jy enige ongemak ervaar as gevolg van die studie, jou deelname in Women with Vision, of persoonlike kwessies, sal die ondersteuning van Imanuella Muller, Usiko se berader, op vrydae tussen 08:00 en 11:00 beskikbaar wees. Kontak haar direk by:

Usiko Stellenbosch

Tel: 021 880 2157

Sel: 061 304 5432

Epos: imanuella@usikostb.org.za

Fisiese adres: 37 Webersvallei pad, Jamestown, Stellenbosch

Ek sien uit om van jou te hoor!

Groete,

Suné

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Exploring the experiences of girls who completed the Usiko Women with Vision programme

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Miss Suné Pohl and Prof Anthony Naidoo, from the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. The results obtained from this study will contribute to Usiko Stellenbosch's evaluation and improvement of the Women with Vision programme, as well as the publication of a master's thesis and academic articles. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you were part of the 2017 Women with Vision pilot programme, and we would like to get your feedback on how it was for you and how it impacted you.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the Women with Vision programme's effectiveness in protecting girls who are exposed to gangs in their community from the possible negative impact of these gangs. It will look at the changes the Women with Vision sessions brought about and find recommendations for how it could be improved. The study will also seek first hand reports of what it means to be a girl in your community and what your personal experiences are of gangs and other obstacles. The results from this study will be crucial in improving Usiko's existing programmes for other young people from your community and will hopefully contribute to the development of similar programmes in other communities and countries.

2. PROCEDURES

Unfortunately, you may only take part in this study if you are 18 years or older.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

- Complete an informed consent form (this document) which signifies your consent to participate in this study.
- Participate in a one-on-one discussion with me, to discuss your experience of the Women with Vision programme and of being a girl in your community. This conversation will be recorded.

The interview will be between 30 minutes and an hour long. By signing this consent form, you are consenting to your interview being recorded via a digital audio recorder. The recordings will be saved in a password protected file.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

This study is deemed to be a medium to high risk study, as it may touch on topics that could potentially be difficult or distressing for you. You will not be forced to share anything that makes you

uncomfortable. Data collected from you will be handled as confidential and will be safely stored on a memory stick in a locked safe. You will be able to withdraw from the study at any stage without consequence. If you experience any discomfort or anxieties during or after partaking in the study, you can access counselling from Usiko. They have a registered counsellor called Imanuella who can help you. These counselling services are free.

Usiko Stellenbosch

Tel: 021 880 2157

Cell: 061 304 5432

Email: imanuella@usikostb.org.za

Physical address: 37 Webersvallei road, Jamestown, Stellenbosch

There is also the possibility that people from your community (for example, gang members) will not like the fact that you are talking to other people about what happens in the community. The study will keep all your details, including the fact that you are participating in this study, secret and all our sessions will take place at a safe place outside of your community. You are also encouraged not to tell anybody who does not need to know, that you are participating in this study.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

There are no immediate benefits associated with participating in this study. However, by taking part in the discussions, you will get to continue your involvement at Usiko and access their continued support. You will also get a chance to voice your opinions in a space where they will be heard and valued. They will contribute to psychology and Usiko's knowledge of girls' experiences and interventions aimed at girls. This will be valuable for other programmes that want to help girls from similar communities.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no payment associated with participation in this study. However, there will be refreshments served at the interview, and we will provide R50 as remuneration for your travel costs when you come for the interview.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information regarding you, any other person or your community, that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by use of pseudonyms (a cover name), which you will get to choose yourself. No identifiable personal information will be associated with your pseudonym. The only people with access to the information will be myself (Suné Pohl), my supervisor (Prof Anthony Naidoo), and Usiko staff who are directly involved with the Women with Vision project.

However, I am required by law and ethical principle to duty to report future crime and abuse towards minors. If you tell me about something like this, I cannot keep it only to myself. I will have to report it to the police and/or a counsellor who will be able to help you. This will also apply if you tell me about other minors who are being abused, or about abuse in your past by someone who might still be abusing children.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without negative consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Prof Tony Naidoo (021 808 3441/ avnaidoo@sun.ac.za) or Miss Suné Pohl (071 887 5739/ 21457395@sun.ac.za).

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT

The information above was described to me by Suné Pohl in Afrikaans and I am in command of this language. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Signature of Subject/Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject/participant*]. She was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in Afrikaans.

Signature of Investigator

Date



UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITEIT TOESTEMMING OM AAN NAVORSING DEEL TE NEEM

Titel: 'n Onderzoek na die ervarings van meisies wat die Usiko Women with Vision program voltooi het

Jy word hiermee uitgenooi om aan 'n navorsingstudie, wat deur Mej. Suné Pohl en Prof Anthony Naidoo, van Stellenbosch Universiteit se sielkunde departement onderneem is, deel te neem. Die bevindinge van hierdie studie sal bydra tot Usiko Stellenbosch se evalueringsprosesse en die verbetering van die Women with Vision program, sowel as die publikasie van 'n meesters-tesis en verskeie akademiese artikels. Jy is as moontlike deelnemer geoormerk, omdat jy deel was van die eerste Women with Vision program in 2017. Ons sal graag jou terugvoer rakende hoe die program was en watse impak dit op jou gehad het, wil hê.

1. OOGMERK VAN DIE STUDIE

Die oogmerk van hierdie studie is om te evalueer hoe effektief die Women with Vision program meisies (wat aan bendegegeweld blootgestel word in hulle gemeenskap) teen die potensiele negatiewe impak van bendes beskerm. Dit sal kyk na die veranderinge wat deur Women with Vision sessies meegebring is en sal aanbevelings vind vir hoe dit verbeter kan word. Die studie sal ook eerstepersoon vertellings probeer vind rakende die betekenis van om 'n meisie in jou gemeenskap te wees en wat jou ervarings van bendes en ander struikelblokke in die gemeenskap is. Bevindinge vanaf hierdie studie sal nie net 'n deurslaggewende rol speel in die verbetering van Usiko se bestaande programme vir jeug in jou gemeenskap nie, maar sal hopelik ook bydra tot die ontwikkeling van soortgelyke programme in ander gemeenskappe en lande.

2. PROSEDURE

Ongelukkig mag jy slegs deelneem aan die studie indien jy ouer as 18 jaar is.

Indien jy instem om deel te neem aan hierdie studie sal ons van jou verwag om die volgende te doen:

- Voltooi 'n ingeligde toestemmingsvorm (hierdie dokument), wat aandui dat jy vrywillig instem om aan die studie deel te neem.
- Neem deel aan 'n een-op-een bespreking met my, waartydens ons jou ervarings van die Women with Vision program en van om 'n meisie in jou gemeenskap te wees, sal bespreek. Hierdie gesprek sal met 'n bandopnemer opgeneem word.

Die onderhoud sal ongeveer 30 minute tot 'n uur lank wees. Deur hierdie toestemmingsvorm te onderteken, gee jy toestemming dat jou gesprek met my met 'n digitale bandopnemer opgeneem mag word. Die opnames sal in 'n elektroniese formaat op 'n wagwoord-beskermdre rekenaar gestoor word.

3. MOONTLIKE NADELE OF ONGEMAK

Hierdie studie word beskou as medium tot hoë risiko, aangesien dit mag raak aan onderwerpe wat vir jou moeilik of ontstellend kan wees om te bespreek. Jy sal nie forseer word om enige iets te deel waarmee jy nie gemaklik is nie. Die data wat ons vanaf jou verkry sal as konfidensieel behandel word en sal veilig gestoor op 'n geheuestokkie binne 'n geslote kabinet, waarvan toegang tot die navorsingspan beperk is. Jy sal ook die opsie hê om op enige stadium, sonder enige gevolge, van die studie te onttrek. Indien jy wel enige ongemak of ontsteltenis gedurende of na jou deelname aan die

studie ervaar, sal jy hulp vanaf Usiko kan verkry. Hulle het 'n geregistreerde berader met die naam Imanuella, wat jou graag sal help. Hierdie beradingsdienste sal koste-vry aan jou voorsien word.

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Daar is ook die moontlikheid dat mense in jou gemeenskap (byvoorbeeld bendeledede) nie daarvan sal hou dat jy met ander mense oor dit wat in die gemeenskap aangaan, praat nie. Die studie sal al jou besonderhede, insluitende die feit dat jy daaraan deelneem, geheim hou en ons bespreking sal in 'n veilige plek buite jou gemeenskap plaasvind. Jy word ook aangemoedig om nie vir enige iemand wat nie nodig het om te weet nie, te vertel dat jy aan die studie deelneem nie.

4. MOONTLIKE VOORDELE VIR DEELNEMERS EN/OF DIE SAMELEWING

Geen onmiddellike voordele word assosieer met deelname aan hierdie studie nie. Deur deel te neem aan die besprekings sal jy egter jou betrokkenheid by Usiko kan voortsit en toegang tot hulle voortdurende ondersteuning verkry. Jy sal ook die kans kry om uiting te gee aan jou opinies in 'n ruimte waar hulle na geluister en gewaardeer sal word. Dit sal bydra tot die sielkunde en Usiko se kennis van meisies se ervarings en intervensies gerig op meisies, en kan baie waardevol wees vir ander programme wat meisies van soortgelyke gemeenskap wil help.

5. BETALING VIR DEELNAME

Daar sal geen betaling vir deelname aan hierdie studie wees nie. Daar sal egter verversings voorsien word by die onderhoud en almal wat aan so 'n bespreking kom deelneem, sal R50 vergoeding vir hulle vervoerkostes ontvang.

6. KONFIDENSIALITEIT

Enige inligting rakende jou, enige ander persoon of jou gemeenskap wat in die verloop van hierdie studie verkry word en wat gebruik kan word om jou te identifiseer, sal konfidensieel gehou word en sal slegs met jou toestemming of in ooreenstemming met regsvereistes, gedeel word met ander. Konfidensialiteit sal deur die gebruik van skuilname (wat jy self kan kies) onderhou word. Geen identifiserende persoonlike inligting sal met jou skuilnaam assosieer word nie. Die enigste mense wat toegang gaan hê tot die inligting is die navorser (Suné Pohl) self, haar studieleier (Prof Anthony Naidoo) en die Usiko personeellede wat direk by die Women with Vision projek betrokke is.

Daar is egter 'n uitsondering hier. Neem asseblief kennis dat ek deur die wet en beginsel vereis word om toekomstige misdaad en kindermishandeling aan te meld. Indien jy vir my van so iets vertel, sal ek dit nie net vir myself kan hou nie. Ek sal dit moet aanmeld by die polisie en/of 'n berader wat jou sal kan help. Dit geld ook indien jy my sou vertel van ander minderjariges wat mishandel word, of van iemand wat dit in die verlede met jou gedoen het en moontlik steeds kinders mishandel.

7. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKKING

Jy is vry om self te kies of jy aan hierdie studie wil deelneem of nie. Indien jy inwillig om deel te neem, sal jy op enige latere stadium van die studie steeds kan onttrek, sonder enige nadelige gevolge. Jy kan ook kies om sekere vrae nie te antwoord nie en steeds deel van die studie bly. Die navorser hou egter die reg voor om jou van die studie te onttrek indien enige omstandighede opduik wat dit regverdig.

8. IDENTIFISERING VAN DIE NAVORSERS

Indien jy enige vrae of bekommernisse het oor die navorsing, kan jy vir Prof Tony Naidoo (021 808 3441/ avnaidoo@sun.ac.za) of Mej. Suné Pohl (071 887 5739/ 21457395@sun.ac.za) kontak.

9. REGTE VAN NAVORSINGSDEELNEMERS

Jy mag jou instemming to deelname op enige tyd onttrek en sal deelname aan die studie staak sonder enige straf of nadeel. Jy laat vaar nie enige wetlike regte of eise deur jou deelname aan die studie nie. Indien jy enige vrae het rakende jou regte as 'n deelnemer aan navorsing, kan jy Me. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] by Stellenbosch Universiteit se afdeling vir Navorsingsontwikkeling kontak.

HANDTEKENING VAN DIE NAVORSINGSDEELNEMER

Bogenoemde inligting is aan my in Afrikaans, deur Suné Pohl, beskryf en ek is die taal magtig. Ek is voldoende geleentheid gegee om vrae te vra en hierdie vra is bevredigend vir my beantwoord.

Ek stem hiermee in om deel te neem and hierdie studie. Ek is van 'n kopie van hierdie vorm voorsien.

Naam van deelnemer

Handtekening van deelnemer

Datum

HANDTEKENING VAN NAVORSER

Hiermee verklaar ek dat ek die inligting wat in hierdie dokument weergegee word aan _____ [*naam van deelnemer*] verduidelik het. Sy is aangemoedig om enige vrae wat sy gehad het rakende die studie te vra en is voldoende geleentheid gegun om dit te doen. Hierdie gesprek was in Afrikaans.

Handtekening van navorser

Datum

APPENDIX H

EXTRACTS FROM THE FINDINGS

Extract 1

(Samantha)

(Ek is) emosioneel sterker. Soos ek vind dit ... ek vind dit moeilik om te huil en soos dit is net moeilik vir dinge om vir my te raak. Soos, dis min goeters wat vir my kan in 'n hoek druk en vir myself nou sê 'jy is nou baie hartseer oor hierdie'. Dit gebeur nie meer nie. Ek was baie fragile gewees laas jaar, wat ek nie nou meer is nie.

(I am) stronger emotionally. Like I find that... I find it difficult to cry and like it is just difficult for thing to touch me. Like, there are few things that can push me in a corner and tell me that 'you are now very sad about this'. It does not happen any more. I was very fragile last year, which I'm not any more now.

Extract 2

(Anthea)

Die volgende dag, toe ek opstaan, toe voel ek verlig, want na elf jaar kon ek se wat rêrig gebeur het. (...) Na elf jaar om iets - soos iets vir jouself te hou...Is soos om heeltyd met daai sak te loop met klomp boeke in wat jou rug seer maak. En dit was 'n groot... Is soos om by die huis te kom en daai sak neer te sit.

The next day, when I got up, I felt relieved, because after eleven years I could say what had really happened. (...) After eleven years, to-, like, keep something to yourself... It's like walking around the whole time with a bag full of books that are hurting yur back. And it was a big... It's like coming home and putting down that bag.

Extract 3

(Micky)

Ek was baie – hoe kan ek sê? – aggressief. Ek het gou kwaad geraak. Maar toe wat ek by die groep aansluit, toe leer ek-. Dit het so my mooi afgeleer, dat ek nie meer so gou kwaad raak en so nie.

I was very - how can I say? - aggressive. I got mad quickly. But when I joined the group, I learnt-. I unlearned (my aggressiveness) very well, so that I don't get mad so quickly any more and so on.

Extract 4

(Samantha)

Wat ek van myself agter gekom het, is: ek het besef dat ek het 'n baie groot hart het. Dat so klein as wat ek hier is, is ek sterk genoeg om met my probleme en ander mense se probleme te kan deal.

What I noticed about myself, is: I realised that I have a very big heart. That as small as I am here, I am strong enough to deal with my problems and the problems of others.

Extract 5

(Micky)

Ek het nie myself geken nie. Maar nou, wat ek by Women with Vision, toe kry ek mos selfvertroue. Ek het myself, ek het gevoel, maar ek is Micky en ek moet myself aanmoedig en so, om vorentoe te gaan.

I didn't know myself. But now, being with Women with Vision, I got self-confidence. For myself, I felt, but I am Micky and I must encourage myself and so on, to go forward.

Extract 6

(Katie)

“Huh-uh, hulle sê nie vir my nie. Ek besluit self wat ek moet besluit, ja.”

Huh-uh, they won't tell me what to do. I decide for myself what I must decide, yes.

Extract 7

(Miriah)

Ons het gepraat met haar, sy't gevra wat ons wil word en so. En toe sy vir ons geshare het dat daar's baie obstacles aan die buitekant wat voor jou lê en so, maar ons hoef nie om daaraan te kyk nie. Ons kan verder aangaan; oor daai probeer kom. Of ons kan iets anders doen. En daai's die waarheid wat sy sê. Want in daar by ons, wat ek bly, daar is klomp obstacles voor jou, maar ek hoef nie my in daai vas te kyk nie. Ek kan bo oor dit beweeg.

We talked to her, and she asked us what we wanted to become and so on. And then she shared with us that there are a lot of obstacles out there that are lying ahead of us and so on, but we don't have to look at them. We can go further; try to get over that. Or we can do something different. And what she said is true. Because there by us, where I live, there is a lot of obstacles in front of you, but I don't have to be blinded by that. I can climb over it.

Extract 8

(Samantha)

Hulle het soos vrae gevra, soos wie is jy? En wat maak jy hier? En ek het vir myself daai vrae beantwoord, amper. So ek het myself leer ken daai spesifieke dag.

They like asked questions, like who are you? And what are you doing here? And I answered those questions for myself, almost. So, I got to know myself that specific day.

Extract 9

(Miriah)

Ek het nooit geweet wat my beroep is vir wat ek eendag wil word nie. Maar daai dag toe ek daar in die saal sit, wat ons geshare het met mekaar en gepraat het, en ook in die tydjie wat ek in die bos moes gesit het, toe kom dit op by my en dat ek besef dat ek

eendag 'n sielkundige wil word, 'n maatskaplike werker wil ek word. En dat ek ver wil gaan toer uit die wêreld uit. En net nie wil bly in my plekkie waar ek is nie. Ek wil opgroei en my kinders kan wys: maar hier het ek gewoon, en dis nou waar ons nou is.

I never knew what my career is for what I want to become one day. But that day when I was sitting there in the hall, when we shared with each other and talked, and also the time that I had to sit in the bushes, it dawned on me and I realised that I want to become a psychologist or a social worker one day. And that I want to go tour far, throughout the world, and not just stay in my little place where I am. I want to grow up and be able to show my children: but here is where I lived, and this is where we are now.

Extract 10

(Jenna)

Ek het geleer om na ander te luister. Ek het ook gevoel hoe is dit as mense vir jou ondersteun en vir jou help, en ek het toe geweet hoe om dan vir ander mense te help.”
I learnt how to listen to others. And I also felt how it is when people support you and help you, and then I knew how to then help other people

Extract 11

(Rachel)

Hulle het gemaak dat ekke my hande sal uitsteek na ander, om daar te wees vir ander mense. Soos ek sal altyd - as ek sien iemand het hulp nodig - sal ek altyd probeer.”
(They made me willing to reach out my hands to others, to be there for other people. Like I will always - if I see that someone needs help - I will always try.)

Extract 12

(Miriah)

Vir my was dit, daarna. Toe ek soos, toe ek nou klaar gehoor het van almal, soos, toe het ek probeer, soos ek gaat nie meer vir daai persoon judge nie. Want kyk, daai persoon het ook daai probleme. Dit gaat nie omdat sy elke dag met 'n smile op haar gesig loop of wat nie, maar sy't ook probleme wat-. Dit kan nog erger wees as my probleme. En nou judge ek vir haar omdat ek dink ek is alleen die persoon wat seerkry en pyn het. So het dit vir my gevoel.

For me it was thereafter. When I, like, when I had finished hearing about everybody, like, then I tried, like, I'm not going to judge that person any more. Because look, that person also has those problem. It is not about her walking with a smile on her face every day or whatever, but she also has problems that-. They could be even worse than mine. And now I judge her because I think I am the only person who gets hurt and has pain. It felt like that to me.

Extract 13

(Micky)

Micky: Byvoorbeeld, ek wil net my sin gehê het. En ek was net altyd reg gewees. Maar, toe wat ek aansluit by Usiko, toe besef ek: maar ek kan nie altyd reg is nie. Daar moet tye kom wat ek verkeerd is en daar is tye wat ek reg is.

Interviewer: So wat dink jy het jou laat besef dat jy kan nie altyd reg wees nie?

Micky: Die feit dat daar ander kinders ook is in die klas, wat ook hulle opinies moet gee, en-. Soos ek wil net, moes net right gewees het. Maar ek het nooit gedink van wat daai kinders te sê het en so nie.

Micky: For example, I just wanted to have things my way. And I was always right. But, when I joined Usiko, I realised: but I can't always be right. There must come times when I'm wrong and there are times when I am right.

Interviewer: *So what do you think made you realise that you can't always be right?*

Micky: The fact that there are also other children in the class, who need to give their opinions and-. Like, I just wanted to, had to just be right. But I never thought of what those children had to say and so on.

Extract 14

(Micky)

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Extract 15

(Miriah)

Ons twee het nou 'n goeie verhouding as ma en dogter. En... en dis als deur die Usiko.
The two of us have a good relationship as mom and daughter now. And... and it's all through Usiko.

Extract 16

(Micky)

Ek en my pa het nog nooit 'n verhouding gehad nie. Maar toe ek beginne deel het in die groep, en toe hulle nou vir my aanmoedig ek moet so en so doen, toe kry ek en pa nou 'n verhouding. Ons twee het nou 'n verhouding, uiteindelik.

Me and my dad had never had a relationship. But when I started sharing in the group, and when they then encouraged me to do so and so, then me and my dad developed a relationship. The two of us have a relationship now, finally.

Extract 17

(Katie)

Dan begin sy weer met my, so... En dan los ek maar vir haar so, want sê ek vir haar 'bly net stil' of so, dan is dit nou weer ekke. Dan sê sy aan mekaar 'Ek gaan vir jou Usiko mense bel.'

Then she starts with me again, like... And then I just leave her like that, because if I tell her 'just be quiet' or so, then she blames me. Then she keeps on saying 'I am going to phone your Usiko people.'

Extract 18

(Anthea)

Daar was elke keer – elke week het hulle iets anders gehad om oor te praat so dit was nie basies heeltyd dieselfde ding nie. En ook dat die – die een week, even though as jy laasweek gepraat het oor daai ding presies en die sessie maak nie klaar voor jy nie klaar gepraat is nie. Daai was... Hulle gee vir jou dan daai kaartjie om te praat en sê net wat jy wil.

Every time - every week, they had something different to talk about, so was not basically the same thing all the time. And also that the one week, even though you might have discussed that thing last week, the session (on the topic) does not finish before you have finished talking. That was... They give you that ticket to talk and to say whatever you want.

Extract 19

(Micky)

Ek het elke Woensdag uitgesien na Usiko, na die sessie, en kan nie gewag het om in die kring te sit en te deel en so nie.

Every Wednesday I looked forward to Usiko, to the session, and I couldn't wait to sit in the circle and to share and so on.

Extract 20

(Micky)

Nee, ek kan net sê dit was baie lekker. En 'n mens het baie dinge geleer by Women with Vision. Joh, dit was opwindend.

No, I can just say that it was very fun. And a person learnt many things at Women with Vision. Wow, it was exciting.

Extract 21

(Anthea)

En dan het die fasiliteerders – hulle was daar om vir jou te luister. Nie, sê maar jy sê iets, en dan 'Nee, jy kan nie daaroor praat nie'. Hulle het vir jou geluister... Daar was trane, daar was gelag, daar was net alles.

And then the facilitators - they were there to listen to you. Not to say, when you say something, that "No, you can't speak about that." They listened to you... There were tears, there was laughter, there was just everything.

Extract 22

(Samantha)

Want ons het 'n man nodig gehad en dit is nie altyd wat 'n vrou-... Ek voel nie even gemaklik om saam my pa te praat nie en net om te gesien het hoe gemaklik die meisies was om met hom te praat, was rêrig... dit was fascinating.

Because we needed a man and it is not always that a woman... I don't even feel comfortable to speak with my father, and just to see how comfortable the girls were to speak to him was really... It was fascinating.

Extract 23

(Samantha)

Hulle het soos vrae gevra. Soos, wie is jy? En wat maak jy hier? En ek het vir myself daai vrae beantwoord.

They like asked questions. Like, who are you? And what are you doing here? And I answered those questions for myself.

Extract 24

(Samantha)

Ons eerste sessie wat ons mos gehad het met die klei. Ek kon nie gepraat het nie, want ek het net gehuil, maar dit het my baie laat dink aan my childhood en dit het baie memories terug (gebring). Ek het nooit gedink op die groot ouderdom sal ek daai dink nie. Maar dit is nogal vir my interessant om te weet, soos, ek kon baie verkeerde keuses

gemaak het in die lewe as gevolg van dit maar... ek het nog al die pad die regte besluite gemaak.

Our first session that we had with the playdough. I couldn't speak, because I was just crying, but it made me think about my childhood a lot and it brought back many memories. I never thought that I would think about that at this advanced age. But it was pretty interesting for me to know, like, I could have made many wrong choices in life because of that, but... I have made the right choices all the way.

Extract 25

(Miriah)

Toe ek terugkom, het ek gevoel soos 'n nuwe mens. Want ek kan vir hulle vertel het dat ek alleen – ek het nog nooit alleen op my eie vir ses ure (of sewe ure, wassit?) alleen gesit in 'n plek nie – maar ek kan vir hulle vertel het, dat ek het darem. Dit was 'n challenge nou vir my gewees, en ek het dit geface, want ek het daar gesit vir daai sewe ure en probeer uitfigure wat ek wil rêrig wees.

When I came back, I felt like a new person. Because I could tell them that I had, on my own - I had never sat on my own at a place for six hours (or was it seven?) – but I could tell them that I at least I had now. It was a challenge for me and I faced it, because I could sit there for those seven hours and try to figure out who I really want to be.

Extract 26

(Miriah)

Ek kan onthou daarvan ek was baie bang om op die ice skating te gaan. Ek het heeltyd so gesê: 'Nee, ek gaan seerkry, ek wil nie gaan nie.' En 'n fasiliteerder het my aangemoedig om te gaan. Ek het drie keer geval en ek het al drie keer opgestaan en

probeer. En ek het dit reggekry. En daai het vir my gevoel soos die grootste challenge wat ek al ooit deurgegaan het, al in my hele lewe.

I can remember that I was very afraid of going on the ice skating. I said the whole time that 'No, I'm going to get hurt, I don't want to go'. And a facilitator encouraged me to go. And I fell three times, and I got up all three times and tried (again). And I got it right. And that felt to me like the biggest challenge that I had ever gone through in my entire life.

Extract 27

(Samantha)

Soos, ek het nog nooit gedeel nie, maar om verantwoordelikheid te neem om ander mense se pyn te dra was baie awesome.

Like, I never shared, but to take responsibility to carry other people's pain, that was very awesome.

Extract 28

(Anthea)

Nooit het 'n mens geleentheid gekry om te praat oor hoe jy rêrig voel nie en daar kon jy sê hoe jy voel... Nie om te worry oor wat ander gaan sê oor wat jy nou gesê het, hoe jy voel nie. En niemand daar het op die oomblik vir jou geoordeel vir enigiets wat jy geshare het daar nie. (...) Dit was exciting. Net die feit dat jy kon tussen mense is waar jy jou eerlike opinie gee, waar jy maak vir haar saak.

Never before was there an opportunity to speak about how you really feel, and there you could say how you feel... Not worrying about what the others would say regarding what you had just shared about your feelings. And in the moment, no one there judged

you for what you had shared there. (...) It was exciting. Just the fact that you could be amongst people where you could give your honest opinion, where you matter to her.

Extract 29

(Miriah)

Ons het nooit die guts om met ons ouers daai te deel nie. Sal met ons vriend dit gaan deel, maar nie met ons ouers nie. En daai dag (by die kamp se afsluiting), toe doen ons die play voor hulle om te wys ons is ook nie skaam nie; ons sal als met hulle deel.

We never had the guts to share that with our parents. We'll share it with our friend, but not with our parents. And that day (at the camp's closing) we did the play in front of them to show them that we are not ashamed; we'll share it all with them.

Extract 30

(Micky)

Dit het nie goed gevoel nie, want ek het net nooit gedink dat hulle sal-, hulle gaan ook sulke goed deel wat (hulle) deurgaen nie. Maar, toe wat ek rêrig hoor, toe sien ek, maar okay, daar is ook wat hulle deurgaen, wat ek deurgaen en so.

It didn't feel good, because I had never thought that they would-, that they were also going to share similar things that they go through. But, when I really heard, then I saw, but okay, there are things that they go through that I go through as well and so on.

Extract 31

(Miriah)

Vir my was dit baie goed, regtig. Die fasiliteerders het vir my gevoel soos 'n ma, want ek kan geshare het met hulle, alles. Ek kan openlik gepraat het. Toe ek vir hulle twee ontmoet het, het hulle regtig gevoel soos my ma. Want toe het ek mos nog nie bond gehet met my ma nie. So, toe voel ek wat ouerliefde regtig is.

For me it was very good, really. The facilitators felt to me like a mom, because I could share with them, everything. I could speak openly. When I met the two of them, they really felt like my mom. Because back then I did not really have a bond with my mom. So, I felt what parent-love really is.

Extract 32

(Anthea)

Sy (die fasiliteerder) beteken nog steeds baie vir my. Sy was like die eerste een vir wie ek vertel het oor wat rêrig in my lewe aangaan. En soos, sy't geluister en... Elke keer as ek vir haar geshare het oor - even though ek miskien nou iets nodig het - dan het sy altyd moeite gemaak om dit vir my te gee. Even though sy nie altyd dit daai presiese tyd kan gedoen het nie, maar sy het dit gedoen nogsteeds.

She (the facilitator) still means a lot to me. She was like the first person who I told about what is really going on in my life. And like, she also listened and... Every time that I shared with her about - even though it might have been about something that I needed - then she always went through trouble to give it to me. Even though she was not always able to do it at that exact time, she did it regardless.

Extract 33

(Leigh)

Leigh: Nee, dit was hartseer gewees! Want ek kan gedeel het met haar (die fasiliteerder) net wat ek wil. Sy was soos my ma gewees.

Interviewer: Hmm. En nou? Het julle nog kontak?

Leigh: Ons het nie meer kontak nie. Ek het nog vir haar nog laaas, daai tyd nog gesien. (...) Joh, baie hartseer. Want ek kan nie meer deel en by haar gaan en my goed of

probleem uitsort nie. Ek moet dit maar vir myself hou, want ek kan niemand vertrou in ons community nie.

Leigh: No, it was sad! Because I used to be able to share with her (the facilitator) just what I wanted to. She was like a mother.

Interviewer: Hmm. And now? Do you still have contact?

Leigh: We don't have contact any more. I saw her laaaast, way back still. (...) Wow, very sad. Because I can't share and go to her and sort out my stuff or problems anymore. I just have to keep it to myself, because I can trust no-one in our community.

Extract 34

(Julie)

Usiko het 'n baie, baie groot impak, ek glo, op ons almal se lewens gehad. En, soos, as ons nou miskien, as jy nou hoor iets gaan gepaard met 'n visie, dan gaan jou – slaat jou brein mos: Women with Vision! En ja. En ek glo daai is waar ons ons journey begin het, dat ons visie nog nie heeltemal complete is nie, maar ons is oppad daarnatoe.

Usiko had a very, very big impact, I believe, on all of our lives. And, like, if we maybe, if you hear that something goes along with vision, then your - your brain just hits: Women with Vision! And yes. And I believe that that is where we started our journey, that our vision is not entirely complete yet, but we are on our way there.

Extract 35

(Leigh)

Want sy't gesê, hulle praat ook nie meer saam ons nie, en ons kry ook nie meer ons mentors in die hande nie, en... En sy't nogal baie op haar hart.

Because she said, they don't speak to us anymore, and we also can't get a hold of our mentors anymore, and... And she has quite a lot on her heart.

Extract 36

(Miriah)

Die einde van die (laaste) kamp? Dit was vir my baie hartseer gewees. Dit het vir my gevoel soos die: ek is nou klaar met skool, ek gaan nou op my eie. Ek gaan die paadjie, dan die een gaan daai padjie... So het dit vir my gevoel. Ons gaan nie meer saam mekaar (wees nie). Ons gaan nie meer daai bond het, soos elke, een keer in die week 'n sessie het by die skool of so nie. Dit het vir my gevoel soos finaal, hier eindig ons nou af. En niks meer verder nie.

The end of the (last) camp? It was very sad for me. It felt to me as if I am now finished with school and now I'm on my own. I'm going this way, then that one is going that way... It felt like that to me. We were not going to be together any more. We were not going to have that bond, like every, once a week having a session at school or so on. It felt like final to me, here we are ending off. And nothing more.

Extract 37

(Micky)

Ons verhouding is nog altyd sterk. Ons groet mekaar, ons sal mekaar nog altyd aanmoedig, en so. Daar's nog altyd 'n connection tussen ons, ja.

Our relationship has been strong ever since. We greet each other, we will still encourage each other and so on. There is still a connection between us, yes.

Extract 38

(Rachel)

Ek dink ons moes 'n sessie gehet het dat ons daar was vir mekaar en so. Veral dan nou die tyd wat van hulle hul broertjie, en nou haar pa, verloor.

I think we should have had a session so that we could have been there for each other and so on. Especially now in the time that some of them lost their brother, and now her father.

Extract 39

(Lize)

Want, soos, goed gebeur miskien. Jy voel gedruk en so. En jy voel net: ‘Joh, maar wanneer sê hulle nou daar’s ‘n sessie?!’ Net sodat jy kan praat en goed van jou skouers af kan kry.

Because, like, maybe stuff happens. You feel pressured and so on. And you just feel: ‘Joh, but when are they going to say there’s a session?!’ Just so that you can talk and get things off of your shoulders.

Extract 40

(Lize)

Interviewer: Okay, so hoe dink jy kon ons jou beter support het na die program geëindig het?

Lize: Soos, uhm, daar was mos gesê dat ons het mentors, wat vir ons elke keer moet gaan; wat ons nommers gaan vat en wat vir ons gaan sê hulle gaan met ons praat en so. Maar tot op nou nog toe het daar niemand gekom. Want ek het dit mos nou so gevat: as daar ‘n mentor is, en sy laat weet vir my dat ek moet vir haar daar kry vir dit, en dan kan ons mos praat met mekaar. (...) Ek wil net hê dat ons mentors nog so met ons kan kommunikeer. Want ek sien my mentor, en sy sê vir my dat sy’s ‘n bietjie besig met werk en so. Maar ek sal baie graag vir hulle wil-, miskien vir haar wil sien.

Interviewer: Okay, so how do you think could we have supported you better after the programme ended?

Lize: Like, uhm, they had said that we have mentors, who would take our numbers and who would tell us that they are going to talk and so on. But until now, no one has come. Because I took it like this: if there is a mentor, and she lets me know that I must meet her for that, then we can talk to each other. (...) I just want our mentors to still communicate with us like that. Because I see my mentor, and she tells me that she's a bit busy with work and so on. But I would really want to see the-, maybe want to see her.

Extract 41

(Anthea)

Ons het mekaar kom leer ken en vandag is ons soos ... closer aan mekaar soos, wat nie vantevore so gewees het nie.

We got to know each other and today we are like... closer to each other, like, which was not like that before.

Extract 42

(Samantha)

Die bond wat ons met mekaar gebou het, wat net... Dis sterk.

The bond that we built with each other is just... It's strong.

Extract 43

(Miriah)

Maar soos ek betrokke geraak het by Usiko, hulle het vir my gevoel soos susters. En die fasiliteerders soos my ma. Want mens kan opelik gedeel het. (...) Hmm, ja. Ons almal het mekaar vertrou en ons het net een gekom – sisters, Women with Vision.

But as I got involved with Usiko, they felt like sisters to me. And the facilitators like my mom. Because you could share openly. (...) Hmm, yes. We trusted each other and we became one - sisters, Women with Vision.

Extract 44

(Samantha)

Ons het rêrig soos suster suster geraak en, alhoewel ons so nou en dan ons differences het, ons het nogsteeds by mekaar gestaan deur dik en dun.

We really became like soul sisters and, although we have our differences every now and then, we still stood by each other through thick and thin.

Extract 45

(Samantha)

Om hier in te kom en in 'n kring te sit en om te tuis te voel, because dis nie altyd wat-. Sê nou maar dis by jou huis, dan voel 'n mens nie altyd tuis nie. Jy belong nie. Maar hier kan jy gevoel het maar jy hoort hier. (...) Daai was maar net like 'n huis buite jou huis uit en dit so tuis gevoel by my sirkel.

To come here and sit in the circle and feel at home, because it's not always that-. Say for instance that you are at your home, then you don't always feel at home. You don't belong. But here you could feel as if you belong here. (...) It was just like a house outside of your house, and it felt so homely in my circle.

Extract 46

(Samantha)

Hier's support wat ek hier gekry het. Ek dink elkeen sal saamstem dat dit was - die support wat hier was - dit was uitstekend gewees.

There's support that I received here. I think everyone will agree that it was - the support that was here - it was outstanding.

Extract 47

(Julie)

Mens is gewoonlik bang as jy jou private lewe met ander mense deel, dan môre gaan almal weet. Maar hier het jy geleer om mekaar te vertrou en oop te maak en te sê hoe jy voel – en nie binne toe te bloei nie, maar om te praat. En dit het baie gehelp.

Usually, one is scared that if you share your personal life with other people, then everybody will know by tomorrow. But here we learnt to trust each other and open up and say how you feel - and not bleed on the inside, but to talk. And that helped a lot.

Extract 48

(Miriah)

Want mens kan opelik gedeel het. Daar was nie skaamte gewees, of bangheid om te share nie. Want ons almal het mekaar getrust en ons almal het meestal dieselfde issues gehet. Soos, ek was nie bang gewees om te deel my probleme, huishoudelik en my probleme met my ma of met die skool nie. Want ons almal het mekaar verstaan en ons almal het mekaar onder een gehet.

Like, you could openly share. There was no shyness, or fear of sharing. Because we all trusted each other and we mostly had the same issues. Like, I wasn't afraid to share my problems, regarding home and my mother or the school. Because we all understood each other and we had unity amongst each other.

Extract 49

(Anthea)

En Women with Vision het vir my gehelp om na elf jaar eerste te share oor wat rêrig gebeur het in my lewe. En soos dit was nie maklik nie maar hul...ten minste het hulle geluister.

And Women with Vision helped me to share for the first time, after eleven years, about what really happened in my life. And, like, it wasn't easy, but they... at least they listened.

Extract 50

(Leigh)

Hulle het vir my baie bygestaan en vir my gebid en so (...) Hulle het moed ingepraat in my en... Ek wil-. Daar was 'n tyd wat ek my lewe wil weggevat het. En toe't Katie vir my gesê ek moet dit nie doen nie, want dis nie die moeite werd nie. En hulle't vir my baie bygestaan.

They stood by me and prayed for me and so on (...) The encouraged me and... I wanted to-. There was 'n time when I wanted to take my life. And then Katie told me I shouldn't do it, because it's not worth it. And they stood by me a lot.

Extract 51

(Lize)

Waar ons bly, is dit nou nie so erg nie. Maar in die ander gebied, is dit nou baie erg. Soos in Palmstraat en daar.

Where we live, it is now not that bad. But in other areas, it is now very bad. Like in Palm street and there.

Extract 52

(Jenna)

Gewoonlik as jy seer het en jy swaar omstandighede het, dan voel jy mos gewoonlik dat jy's al een wat sulke goed dra - swaar tyd, en so. Maar toe (kom) ons hier en ek leer dat ek is nie alleen.

Usually when you are hurting and you have difficult circumstance, then you usually feel that you are the only one that carries these thing – difficult times and so on. But then we came here and I learnt that I am not alone.

Extract 52

(Katie)

Ek ken baie van hulle. Ons het saam groot geword. Ons het saam skool ook gegaan en so. Nou ek ken vir hulle, so hulle is lekker met my.

I know many of them. We grew up together. We went to school together also, and so on. Now I know them, so they are nice to me.

Extract 53

(Katie)

Ons het bymekaar geraak, en alles dit, en toe het hy vir my beginne slaan en so. En toe sê ek maar: 'Nee, ek wil nie vir my-. Maar loop!' As hy my gekry het langs die pad, en dan het hy my wild geroep en sommer met klippe gegooi. Dan sê ek, 'Nee!', dan loop ek net daar, of ek hardloop somtyds, want hy's baie erg. Veral as hy dronk is. Toe los ek hom uit.

We got together, and all of that, and then he started hitting me and so on. And then I said: "No. I don't want this for me-. But go!" When he found me next to the straat, then he shouted wild things and threw me with rocks. Then I said, 'No!', then I just walked there, or sometimes I ran, because he is very rough. Especially when he is drunk. Then I left him alone.

Extract 54

(Anthea)

[Quote was originally in English]

My life was so out of order. I smoked dagga to get rid of my problems. My life consisted of eating, sleeping and smoking. I don't know my father and my mother is always at home, drinking. She is an alcoholic, she drinks every day.

Extract 55

(Rachel)

Soos, hy is getroud en het ander 'n vrou en ander kinders, so hy het meestal met hulle gewees . Soos, like, sy vrou wou nie gehê het hy moes met ons wees nie. Hy mag nie saam ons gepraat het en so. So dan het ek gevoel hy kies aan mekaar vir haar bo ons.

Like, he is married and has another wife and other children, so he was mostly with them. So, like, his wife did not want him to be with us. He was not allowed to speak to us and so on. So then I felt that he was constantly picking her over us.

Extract 56

(Micky)

Hulle't miskien sonder 'n vader grootgeword in die huis. En nou voel hulle, maar hier's nie liefde in die huis nie. Nou gaan hulle uit en nou soek hulle by daai ene liefde, en daai ene. En so kom dit dat die swangerskap plaasvind.

Maybe they grew up without a father in the home. And now they feel, but there's no love in this house. Now they go out an search for love with that one, and that one. And so it happens that they become pregnant.

Extract 57

(Miriah)

Soos daai play was vir my 'n eye open, in ons straat in. En in ons gemeenskappie in.

Like that play was an eye opener for me, into our street. Into our community.

Extract 58

(Samantha)

Ek sien dit elke dag - hoe gangsters vroumense se lewens op mors... Soos Sondag het ek en Amanda, toe was ons oppad veld toe en net toe ons op die hoek kom van ons pad, toe skiet toe die een oukie op sy meisie. Like letterlik!

I see it every day – how gangsters mess up women's lives... Like Sunday, when me and Amanda were on our way to the field, just when we got to the corner of our road, one guy shot at his girl. Like literally!

Extract 59

(Micky)

Want jy sit jou eie lewe in gevaar! Op die ou einde van die dag dan kry hulle nie vir daai persoon lekker nie, dan vat hulle vir jou! Want hulle vat dit so: jy's die meisie.

Because you put your own life in danger! At the end of the day, then they don't find that person, then they take you! Because they see it like this: you are the girl.

Extract 60

(Katie)

Interviewer: Hoe voel jy oor bendes?

Katie: Dit is nie reg nie.

Interviewer: How do you feel regarding gangs?

Katie: It is not right.

Extract 61

(Katie)

So, ek is ook nie bang vir hulle as hulle met 'n gun loop of so nie. Maar ek sal uit hulle way uit gaan as hulle met 'n gun of so loop. Dan gaan ek huis toe. Dan weet ek hulle gaan nou skiet of so, dan gaan ons almal huis toe, dan lê ons net so tydjie. En dan begin skiet hulle net.

So, I'm also not scared of them when they walk with a gun or something like that. But I will go out of their way if they are walking with a gun or something like that. Then I'll go home. Then I know they are going to shoot or something, then we all go home, then we lay down for a while. And then they just start shooting.

Extract 62

(Lize)

Lize: Ek het stilgesit oor die goed. Oor die sessies wat ons gedoen het. En soos oor die, uhm, obstacles...

Interviewer: Okay. Okay... En jy sê toe moes jy besluite maak en veranderings maak? Wil jy my bietjie vertel van watse veranderings jy gemaak het?

Lize: Ek het net my verkeerde vrinne een kant geskywe en vorentoe beweeg.

Lize: I just sat still about the things. About the sessions that we did. And like about the, uhm, obstacles...

Interviewer: Okay. Okay... And you say that you had to make decisions and changes? Do you want to tell me a bit about the what change you made?

Lize: I just moved my wrong friends aside and moved forward.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE

Participant: Anthea

Date: 27 August 2018

Place: SU Psychology Department

Interviewer: Suné

S: Daarsy daar gaat ons. Ok so Anthea, baie dankie dat jy hierso is vandag, dis rerig... soos ekke besef dis flippen baie moeite vir julle om te kom en...dit was rerig koud vannoggend toe ek uit die bed uit gestaan het so ek kan net dink dit was vir julle ook vrot/koud. Uhm so soos ek gese het vandag gaan net gaan oor soos ons gaan praat oor Women with Vision, hoe was dit vir jou? Wat onthou jy? Wat onthou jy nie? Het enigiets verander? Dis basies waarom dit gaan. Maar jy hoef nie te worry oor soos...ek sal vir jou... ons sal mooi daarby uitkom. Ek dink om te begin kan jy my miskien net vertel van jou. Wie is Anthea? Boeties en sussies?

A: Uhm... ek is Anthea Coetsee. Ek bly in **. Ek het twee sustertjies en een ouer broer. Ek bly tans by my antie en my sustertjies by hulle ma ...by my ma. In dieselfde straat maar net huise weg van mekaar.

S: OK

A: ...jaa...ek... wat nog? (laughs)

S: En jou pa?

A: Ek ken nie my pa nie.

S: OK. Nog nooit geken nie? Ok. Uhm wat nog? Jy het op 'n stadium skoolgegaan mos nou in Tweedevlei né? Jy my daarvan vertel?

A: Uhm. Toe... omdat ek ... omdat uh Joshua hulle het my na ... uh...is uh... 'n huis waar vroumense wat soos abuse was of wat deur 'n moeilike tyd gaan wat almal daar gebly het. En toe het dit gekom dat ek daar moet skoolgaan vir 'n paar maande. En toe het daai plek... iets het... iets het daar gebeur rondom jy moet eerste agtien is en op daai stadium was ek nog sewentien – sewentien. Jy moet eerste agtien is voor jy by daai plek kan bly en toe moes ek huis toe kom.

S: Ok, ok. En hoe't jy gevoel oor die huis toe kom? Sou jy wou teruggaan? Noudat dat jy agttien is sal jy wil teruggaan?

A: Ja

S: OK

A: Want alles was beter daar as wat dit by die huis is.

S: OK. So wat was beter daar?

A: Die mense, die...die... Alles was net beter daar.

S: OK. En by die huis? – OK, dis fine jy hoef nie daaroor te share nie. Ek dink ek het vir jou 'n tissue. Daarsy skuus, ek belowe hy is skoon, hy was net opgevou. (both laugh)

A: Dis fine.

S: Uhm ok, en Women with Vision? Vertel my daarvan.

A: (long pause) Hulle het...nooit het 'n mens geleentheid gekry om te praat oor hoe jy rêrig voel nie en daar kon jy sê hoe jy voel... Nie om te worry oor wat ander gaan sê oor wat jy nou gesê het hoe jy voel nie. En niemand daarop het op die oomblik vir jou geoordeel vir enigiets wat jy geshare het daar nie. En... baie oor wat.....(kan nie mooi hoor nie)

S: Dis OK. (long pause)

A: Soos meeste van ons wat – wat in daai groep was het nie van mekaar gehou nie en ons het ‘n bond kon kry daar want...net die voorkoms van ons almal as ons verby mekaar geloop het, het - het jy daai persoon geoordeel met sy voorkoms maar jy weet nie wat rêrig... En ons het mekaar kom leer ken en vandag is ons soos ... closer aan mekaar soos (sniff) wat nie vantevore so gewees het nie. En Women with Vision het – ek weet nou nie van die ander girls nie – but dit het vir my gehelp om na elf jaar eerste te share oor wat rêrig gebeur het in my lewe en soos dit was nie maklik nie maar hul...ten minste het hulle geluister.

S: Mmm, ja. En omgegee om te luister né? Ja. Sjoe dis kosbaar. OK. So, kan jy onthou to Women with Vision begin het, Shannon het my vertel daai eerste dag toe julle almal se name geroep is. Hoe het daai gevoel? Wat het jy gedink?

A: (speak over each other for a bit and laugh) Toe’s ons soos... Wat die hel soek die mense met ons? (laughter) Ek en Samantha het geloop toe sê sy vir my ga...nee... Toe dieselfde dag wat hulle vir ons gesê het ons gaan nou na...julle is nou in USIKO se groep, was dieselfde dag wat toe uhm antie Maryna en Akeela gekom het. Toe’s ons soos ‘wat soek die mense dan nou? Ons het niks om vir hulle te sê nie’. But...min het ons geweet dat hulle rêrig so groot rol in ons lewe gaat kom speel. Even vir...dit was ‘n kort tydjie ja, maar is ‘n gap wat hulle kom vul het so...

S: Ja. Watse gap dink jy was dit?

A: Dat... By die huis kan jy nie altyd sê hoe jy voel of wat vir jou pla of so nie. Maar elke Woensdag as jy daar ingestap het kan jy sê...kan jy eerlik sê hoe jy voel. As jy sleg voel moet jy sê dat jy voel sleg, en as jy goed voel kan jy gesê het dat jy voel goed. But is net...die meeste van die tyd is dit die feit dat...jy kon gedeel het hoe jy rêrig voel. Jy kon eerlik gewees het daar.

S: Ja. OK, so dit was nou met die check-ins elke keer?

A: Ja. (laughs)

S: OK, en met die uhm met die aktiwiteite en goeters, wat het jy daarvan gedink?

A: Dit was – dit was – dit was – dit was exciting. Net die feit dat jy – jy – jy kon tussen mense is waar jy jou eerlike opinie gee, waar jy-jy maak vir haar (kan nie hoor nie) maak... Hoe kan ek nou se? Jy ... jy maak saak vir daai mense. Man weet jy nou op daai oomblik miskien by haar nou is.

S: OK...OK. En dan by daai eerste kamp, daai vier vrae (laughter), die famous vier vrae; wat onthou jy van daai vier vrae?

A: Wie is ek? Ekke... (sniffs). Ook jy - jy kon leer daar dat jy – jy nie altyd die enigste persoon is wat deur daai probleem gaan nie soos jy - jy kan vir jouself – jy kan vir jouself dink jy's die enigste persoon wat daardeur gaan maar, daar is nog ander meisies wat ook daardeur gaan, elke dag. En ek het kom leer wie is ekke. Dat ek, ek beginne...myself vind net nadat ek oop kon gemaak na wat gebeur het in my lewe. En daai's hoe ek aanvaar dat dit nie my skuld is oor wat gebeur het nie. En...(sniffs) Wat is die ander drie nou weer gewees? Ek onthou waantoe is jy oppad?

S: Ja, en hoekom is jy hier?

A: Hoekom is jy hier?

(laughing and sniffing)

S: Dis OK. Dink jy jy het meer gedink aan daai goeters as gevolg van die program? Soos was dit goeters wat jy voor aan gedink het of..?

A: Dit was – dit was heeltyd gewees, as ek oop moet praat gaan hulle vir jou glo vir dit wat jy sê? Maar in daai selfde tyd het niemand daai meisies wat daar in 'n kring gesit het of selfs die grootmense nou soos julle, julle - julle het nie geoordeel nie, julle het geluister. En

baie van die kere sê mens jy sê iets dan word jy geoordeel vir dit wat jy sê maar min weet mense hoe jy rêrig voel daaroor.

S: Mmm, ja. OK. So jy dink Women with Vision was vir jou 'n safe space?

A: Mmm.

S: Ok. Kom ons kyk wat's hierso, hier's actually specific vrae. Ek moet eintlik... Uhm OK. So, overall, as jy nou dink aan die program, hoe was dit vir jou? Soos net, wat bly by jou? As jy nou dink aan Women with Vision, wat is die ding wat jy onthou?

A: Dat ek – ek – ek sê dit altyd vir Samantha; as jy in daai kring gekom het kan jy geshare het net hoe jy voel en daai is wat vir my...

S: Mmm. OK... En dit was vir jou 'n nuwe ding? Dit was iets wat jy nie êrens anders kry nie? ... OK...en wat was vir jou sleg van die program?

A: Ek – ek kan nie se daar was iets sleg vir my nie behalwe dat...ons – ons, van die meisies, obviously het ons koppe gestamp maar nog steeds kan – vir my – ek weet nou nie van die anders nie – but vir my was daar niks sleg van die program nie want elke keer as ek daar gekom het kon ek – kon - kon ek rêrigwaar myself gewees het. Daai's al.

S: Ja, OK. So as jy se daar was nou nie iets slegs van die program nie, miskien, wat het jou uitgedaag in die program? Wat was vir jou moeilik oor jy moes groei deur daai, maar dit was nie noodwendig sleg nie. Dit was net moeilik.

A: Die feit dat ek moes share met almal oor wat gebeur het nadat ek nog met niemand gepraat het daarvan nie. Daai was moeilik.

S: OK. So kan jy onthou by watse sessie dit was wat jy die eerste keer geshare het?

A: Ek het – ek het nie saam – ek het nie saam die girls presies daai geshare nie but...dit was net ek en Akeela gewees.

S: Mmm OK. Ok en wanneer was dit? Kan jy min of meer onthou? Net soos wat het gemaak dat jy gevoel het ‘ja maar ek kan maar na Sadeeqa toe gaan met hierdie’?

A: Ek – ek het eintlik twee weke voor ... dit was ...ons het iets in-in ‘n sessie gedoen... En toe share iemand iets. Toe voel ek dat ... nee, ek het vir Akeela gevra of ek vir haar kan iets vertel, maar dit moet tussen my en haar bly en toe share ek met haar.

S: OK, OK. Cool. Ok, so dit was vir jou die moeilikste van die hele program? En hoe’t jy gevoel na jy dit gedoen het?

A: Toe ek by die – toe ek by die huis kom, toe’s ek ... toe’t ek gaan slaap, my oë was te dik gehuil. En toe die volgende dag toe ek opstaan toe voel ek verlig want na elf jaar kon ek se wat rêrig gebeur het.

S: En toe hoef jy dit nie meer self te dra nie. Dis amazing, wow. Ok uhm, en dan, as jy nou kyk na jouself, noudat jy klaar is met Women with Vision, jy’s ‘n graduate en jy’t vier ure alleen gesolo en dit oorleef en als. En jy’t die play gedoen en jy het die sertifikaat gekry en jy’t geyskaats en als. Hoe is jy Anthea wat voor my sit, nou anders as Anthea laasjaar net voor sy begin het?

A: Soos ek gese het, dat na elf jaar om iets - soos iets vir jouself te hou...is soos om heeltyd met daai sak te loop met klomp boeke in wat jou rug seer maak en dit was ‘n groot...is – is soos om by die huis te kom en daai sak neer te sit.

S: Ja, jy gooi hom net weg.

A: Ja.

S: OK. En dan, soos jou verhoudings met jou sussies en jou boetie, miskien met jou ma of met jou tannie hulle, het die program 'n impak op daai gehad?

A: Omdat – omdat na – omdat in die tyd van die program het.... Nee uh-uh, die program was...ja, ons laaste kamp, toe bly ek al in Tweedevlei en soos...ek kan nie sê dat ons...ek...veral ek en my ma se verhouding het nie verander nie 'cos ek was weg van die huis af vir die hele tyd in (kan nie hoor nie) soos ses – sewe maande nie gesien nie, so...ek, as ek huis toe gekom het vir 'n naweek het ons gepraat but dit was net hallo en bye. Dis al. Ek kan nie sê daar - daar het ietsie daar verander nie but... dit is nog steeds nog nie te laat mos nie.

S: Mmm nee dit is nie. En soos daai krag wat jy opgebou het, soos selfs al was dit nie in die program daar nie, soos daai krag kan jy nou huis toe vat en met haar share. OK. Ander verhoudinge miskien net soos in general, hoe is dinge by die skool vir jou? Hoe is... Of hoe was dinge by die skool vir jou en hoe is jou uitkyk op die lewe nou anders as wat dit was voor die program?

A: Soos ek gesê...soos ek vir Suné gesê het ook, is soos rêrig om'n sak boeke wat jy heeldag by die skool moes gedra het neer te sit. En soos, ek het – ek het die mense vir wie kwaad aan my gedoen het, het ek vergewe en daai was soos... 'n groot besluit om te neem. 'Cos ek moes vir hulle verg... Ek moes myself vergewe om vir hulle te kan vergewe en niks kon – sou verander het as ek sekerlik nie kon gepraat het daarvan nie. En daai was soos iets anders. En by die skool...vir – soos veral vir my vriende, ek het...baiekeer het ek rejected gevoel 'cos julle weet nie wat gaan aan nie, julle weet nie waarvandaan af ek vannogend by die huis gekom het nie en nou voel julle sommer julle wil gou vinnig gou iets soos daai praat. En dan – dan loop ek weg en dan... Maar nou is dit ander 'cos ek... eerlik, ek worry nie. Daai's nie (kan nie hoor nie). Ek worry net nie.

S: Ja, ok. Ok. Uhm en dan, toe die program nou geëindig het laasjaar toe die – die weeklikse sessies laasjaar met daai laaste kamp geëindig het, toe't ons mos nou gesê ons gaan support hê hierdie jaar en dan gaan dit op die ou einde eindig en ook hierdie jaar moes jou mentor mos nou met jou begin connect het. Hoe was daai vir jou? Dink jy dit... Wat was jou verwagting en het – is jou verwagting gemeet?

A: Ek – ons het nog nooit met die mentors ge-gedinges nie, dis hoekom ek niks daarvoor kan sê nie.

S: Ok, ek het gewonder daarvoor want ek het 'n note hierso gemaak. Ek het die vakans... ek het die naweek die play gekyk. Toe sien ek 'oe maar hulle sê dan nou van die mentors, ek moet bietjie hoor oor hierdie mentors'. (A: mmm en lag) OK so jou mentor het nog glad nie met jou connect nie? Ok. En sou jy wou gehad het...?

A: Ja, want (laughs) ja.

S: Ok, so daai support is miskien iets wat lacking was? Ok, en dan met die groep sessies deur hierdie jaar? Daar was so een elke kwartaal né?

A: Mmm

S: Hoe was dit?

A: Dit was exciting want ek moes uit... ek – ek het saam Akeela elke keer uit die Tweedevlei uit gekom. En dit was lekker om die meisies te sien want ek was vir, sê soos twee - drie maande voor dit nog nie by hulle nie en dan was dit nice om vir hulle, en ons almal saam, met mekaar te wees. Daai was...

S: Mmm ja. Daar was 'n special magic in julle groep. Uhm, ja en dan, ek dink... Miskien vertel my sommer net wat jy gedink het nou laasjaar toe – toe julle die play gedoen het en die sertifikate gekry het. Toe het almal nogal baie gehuil. (both laugh) Daai foto'tjies, al die ogies

is so...uhm... Wat het jy gedink? Hoe het dit vir jou gevoel en wat sou jy wou gehad het vir support daarna?

A: Ek – wat vir my dingese was is die feit dat... hulle het mos die meisies se ma's genooi en soos my ma was nie daar nie but nogtans dit... Ek weet nie...

S: Ok. So dit was rof om nie jou ma daar te kan he nie. Ok. En dis moeilik want dan kan jy nie iets sê nie want al die ander meisies se ma's was daar en hulle geniet dit. Ok... Ok, dis moeilik. Uhm, ekke dink kom ons praat miskien bietjie oor die spesifieke goed wat julle gedoen het in die program. Uhm so daar was mos nou die weeklikse sessies. Wat – wat onthou julle – jy het julle gedoen wat - in die weke?

A: Ons het – het ... (kan nie hoor nie) het gecheck-in. Soos ek sê ek sal elke keer daai sê, jy kon daar ingestap het en geshare het net hoe jy voel. Sonder om te twyfel wat die een gaan dink of wat daai een gaan sê of wat jy nou sê. 'Cos op die ou einde van die dag is dit hoe jy voel en nie hoe die ander persoon voel nie en daai was... En dan het Antie Maryna en partykeers Joshua en Akeela hulle – hulle was daar om vir jou te luister... nie sê maar jy sê iets en dan 'nee jy kan nie daaroor praat nie'. Hulle het vir jou geluister of jy... Daar was trane, daar was gelag, daar was net alles.

S: Ok. So julle het die check-in gehad en dan't julle oor goed gepraat en jy kon sê net wat jy wou wanneer jy wou oor die goed praat. Oor watse tipe goed het julle gepraat?

A: Oor – oor wat by die huis... Daar was elke keer – elke week het Akeela hulle iets anders gehad om oor te praat so dit was nie basies heeltyd dieselfde ding nie. En ook dat die – die een week, even though as jy laasweek gepraat het oor daai ding presies en die sessie maak nie klaar voor jy nie klaar gepraat is nie. Daai was... Hulle gee vir jou dan daai kaartjie om te praat en sê net wat jy wil.

S: So daar was nie 'n time restriction nie, dit was ons kuier tot ons klaar is? (A: Yes tussenin). Ok en dit het gewerk, dit was goed? Ok uhm...

A: Die nege maande was te min gewees...(albei lag)

S: Net een keer 'n maand was te min?

A: Die nege maande saam was te min gewees.

S: O, o ja... Ek kan dit vir hulle sê (laugh). Uhm ok, so dis obviously een van jou aanbevelings, nege maande is te min?

A: Is baie te min.

S: Wat sal jy nog sê? Wat sal jy vir hulle sê as jy nou op een van daai meetings kon sit waar ek laasjaar gesit het en ons se ons dink hulle moet gaan ysskaats. Ek dink ysskaats is 'n goeie idee. Wat sou jy vir hulle sê?

A: Uhm, die nege maande is te min en... ek – ek sal nie iets – iets sê wat ek weet...nee(kan nie hoor nie). Al wat ek kan sê is dat omdat die program vir my gehelp het, het ek nie enige twyfel dat dit vir enige ander meisie wat in die program is nie gaan help nie. 'Cos dit-dit vat baie van jou om te sê hoe jy rêrig voel but sodra jy geshare het hoe jy rêrig voel is daar 'n groot verligting van hoe dit was miskien voor dit. En as jy – as jy – jy kan nie twee – drie dae saam met 'n persoon is dan voel jy wil vir hom vertrou nie. Soos ons het vertrou ook in mekaar opgebou eers voor ons rêrig geshare oor wat rêrig, rêrig aangaan in ons lewens. En daai het soos – soos as ek 'n goeie voorbeeld moet maak, soos Samantha. Sy sê nie hoe sy voel nie, sy kan nie daai ... jy sal nooit uit daai kind uit kry hoe sy rêrig voel nie but daar het – sy sê altyd, daar kon sy sê hoe sy rêrig voel want joh...(laughter).

S: Ja uhm ok. So net meer tyd, is dit jou recommendations?

A: Dis al.

S: Ok uhm, en dan miskien, ek het vir ons foto'tjies hierso. Kom ons kyk bietjie na die fotos. Ek hoop nou hierdie outjie se battery hou vir ons..... Daarsy. Hierso is... Kom ons begin by hierdie want ek het hulle nou spesiaal bygesit vir jou in the room né (?). Kyk net hoe spoggerig lyk julle. (both laughing). So daai was nou by die laaste kamp né? Jy en Shannon is close né?... Ok.

A: Kan ons nie die foto's kry nie?

S: Ja nee julle gaan. By die laaste sessies gaan ons vir julle elkeen 'n DVD gee met al die foto's op van als wat ons geneem het. So hierso is jy en Akeela nou. Wil jy my vertel van Sadeeqa en wat sy beteken het en...?

A: Sy beteken nog steeds baie vir my. Sy was like die eerste een vir wie ek vertel het oor wat rêrig in my lewe aangaan. En soos, sy't geluister en... Elke keer as ek vir haar geshare het oor... even though ek miskien nou iets nodig het dan het sy altyd moeite gemaak om dit vir my te gee. Even though sy nie altyd dit daai presiese tyd kan gedoen het nie maar sy het dit gedoen nogsteeds.

S: Ja, sy het genoeg omgee om te organise. Ok. Ok, hier's nog een. Daar's jy en Akeela en Maryna. Daarsy... Daar's nog ene. Die sertifikaat (laughter). Wat het daai sertifikaat vir jou beteken?

A: Dit was hartseer om daai sertifikaat te ontvang want dit het beteken dis die laaste...

S: Ja. Ok. Jy lyk nie hartseer daar nie, jy lyk baie happy, moes hulle eintlik net omdraai (laughter). Ok hier's ons nou by die begin (A: Joh and laughs). Jy was by die eerste kamp né? (laughter). Hoe't jy gevoel toe jy daai gesien het?

A: (laughing) Ons was soos wat – wat gebeur hier? Want ons het gedink dit gaan net lekker wees, alles gaan net lekker wees maar toe ons dit sien.... (laughs)

S: Toe's dit nie lekker nie?

A: (laughs) Dis nie dat dit nie lekker was nie, dis maar net, dit was iets anders want ons het nog nooit so iets oorgekom nie (both laugh).

S: Ok. Kyk daar's julle, julle dink nou wat gaan hier aan?

A: Ja.

S: Ok en daarso? Wat het Lourens daai dag vir julle gese? Ekke was nie daar nie.

A: Maak toe julle oë. Nee, eerste trek uit julle skoene. Ons moet ons skoene uitgetrek het en dan moes ons ons oë toegemaak het en gevoel het hoe die wind waai en dat alles wat uit Stellenbosch uit kom ons moet net daar by die hek los. Hier's nou iets anders wat gaan gebeur hier binne by die kamp.

S: En dink jy dit het?

A: Ja, dit het rêrig gebeur.

S: Het daar toe nou rêrig iets anders gebeur? OK. Daarsy, daar gaan sy. Ok daar's ek ook. (Laughter). Uhm, daai was toe nou na ons julle vrae gevra het né? Uhm...ok. Hierdie. Kom ons gesels bietjie oor hierdie. Onthou jy daai oefening? Met die obstacles? Watse tipe obstacles kan jy onthou?

A: (lang pause) Dit...sê maar – sê maar soos as jy miskien bang is om te praat oor hoe jy rerig voel en ja... Struikelblokke soos, sê maar jy wil vorentoe gaan dan is daar altyd iets wat vir jou agter hou...ja.

S: Ok, so jy't gevoel daai was nogal 'n goeie metafoor vir goeters wat julle ervaar het? Ek dink hier's foto's van van die goeters wat die meisie gesê het ook. Kyk hoe staan Amber met haar voet in die lug (both laugh). Uhm...daarsy. Kyk jy't daai geniet né? Dit was vir jou

lekker... Ok so daarso is een van die wat hulle neer geskryf het. Daar's nog ene. (A: Mhm in background) Kan jy onthou wat van die ander was? Ons het op die ou einde nie almal afgeneem nie, maar wil jy van die obstacles noem wat julle neergeskryf het toe julle hulle gename het?

A: Uh... Wat was dit? Is...abuse en... Wat was daar nog? Kindermishandeling en – en wat nog? Daar was te – daar was – daar was baie wat ons gedoen het.

S: OK. Ok. En daar's antie Mel...(laughter)...Onthou jy vir Vanessa? Daarsy...en die pop?

A: Mmmm.

S: Is die pop nog in die rondte?

A: Oe ja/na

S: Is sy toe nou saamgetravel of...?

A: Ja, eendag toe't ons – waar was ons – by MacDonalds, 'n Vrydag – 'n Donderdag middag toe't Joshua hulle so ewe skielik net gekom en vir ons kom haal en toe het die pop daar saam met ons gegaan (both laugh).

S: Saam met julle MacDonald's toe? Ok. Daar praat Uncle Rob bietjie met ons voor die uhm voor die solo. Wat onthou jy van jou solo?

A: Ek het – ek het die heeltyd gehuil en dit was soos rêrig, nog vier ure alleen hier? But jy kon – kon dink oor...jy kry nie altyd alleen tyd vir jouself nie en daai was soos. Ook iets anders wat...hoekom sal julle my dan nou alleen hier los? (kan nie mooi hoor nie)

S: So as jy sê 'iets anders', beteken dit soos 'n goeie iets anders of net soos 'oe, hierdie is weird'?

A: Ja want jy kry nie dit... Sê maar nou jy's alleen, even by die huis, daar's altyd iemand soos – as miskien nou die babatjie in kom en kom – dan het jy nou aan - miskien aan iets gedink en dan vergeet jy alweer oor wat jy nou gedink het.

S: Mmm. So dink jy dit was die langste wat jy al ooit alleen was?

A: Ja (laughs) vier ure

S: Sjoe, ok. Maar daarso nog, toe't hulle mos vir ons uitgestuur met van die goeters. Daar's al daai processes. Hier's die elements. Daar sit Miriah, sy lyk heel happy om alleen te wees. (laughter) Maar sy smile mos die heel tyd. (A: praat en lag in die agtergrond) Toe het oom Tony 'n nap daar gevat.

A: (laughs) Ek? het ook geslaap.

S: Ja, ek ook (more laughing). Wat was – hoe was dit vir jou om mans te hê wat soos Joshua en Lourens wat uitgehelp het en Uncle Rob wat reg deur soort van daar was in die agtergrond as – as hierdie man wat nou join tussen al die girls?

A: Dit was iets – dit was iets anders gewees 'cos... Normally stel mansmense mos nie belang in sulke goed nie. En soos Uncle Rob hulle het altyd gewys dat hulle omgee. En Joshua is heeltetal iets anders 'cos met Joshua het ekke 'n bond gehet wat ek sal sê... Soos Shadeeqa het vir hom – vir my gevra of sy vir – omdat sy vir hom vertrou om vir hom te vertel oor wat ek vir haar vertel het en saam het hulle tweetjies vir my in 'n ander space gaan sit waar ek myself kon gevind het en dit was die beste tye van my hele lewe.

S: Sjoe, so jy voel jy het rêrig jouself gevind, nie – nie net oor die program nie maar oor die space waarin die program jou kon sit?

A: Yes

S: Ok. Daar's nog 'n slaper (laughter).

A: Is dit Samantha?

S: Daar's Samantha. Samantha was so bang. Ai julle. Ok. En toe roep Lourens ons terug. Hoe't dit gevoel om terug te kom?

A: Ek was kwaad – kwaad – kwaad. (laughter)

S: Hoekom?

A: (Laughing in between) Want hoekom los julle vir my vir vier ure in die bos? Ek was baie kwaad gewees. Ek was baie kwaad.

S: En toe nou later toe jy...?

A: Toe ons daar onder...toe lag ons weer want dit was – dit was eintlik fun gewees om so alleen te wees. En party van die girls het mos vir mekaar geskree dat hulle dit nie moes doen nie. (laughs)

S: Ok, so dink jy, as jy nou kon kies, soos as jy die keuse gehad het of jy op 'n solo wil gaan of nie, wat sou jy kies?

A: Ek sou gaan want dan het ek tyd vir myself.

S: Ok en dis goed en dis belangrik?

A: Ja

S: Ok... Ok, toe het ons gewas in die rivier... Hoe was daai?

A: Wie – wie't daar gepraat? Iemand het saam met ons gepraat

S: Maryna

A: Maryna

S: Ja

A: Oor jou baggage wat jy moet afwas?

S: Mmm. Het dit – het daai bietjie iets gedoen daarso?

A: Ja...

S: Ok...good. En toe hierso het ons ook baggage in die vuur gegooi né?

A: Mmm, dinge wat jou agter hou ja.

S: Jy't netnou genoem van die dinge wat jou agterhou wat dit voel dis – daar's konstant goed. Dink jy daar't iets verander, met Women with Vision, dat dit ten minste net voel jy kan harder aan dit trek of iets?

A: Ja want soos ek gesê het, ek – ek gaan nie meer...want altyd het ek net gewonder as iemand iets geshare het was ek heeltyd op daai punt wat...is dit waar? Is dit rêrig ek daai? But nou, ek is net soos, dis fine (laughs) die lewe gaan aan. Ek kan nie vir my worry oor dit nie.

S: Ok, ok. Daarso is jy. (laughter) Ek dink daai was met 'n check out of 'n iets. Ja....daarso is die hele groep.....Daar's die mode parade. Daarsy. Maar Gracie het toe mos nou oorgegaan na die ander groep toe né?

A: Want sy het die skool gelos daai tyd.

S: Oh, ok. Is dit wat gebeur het?

A: Maar sy is weer terug.

S: Ok so toe hoe was dit? Want ek weet daar was baie meisies wat maar soort van daar was en toe nou – of nie baie nie – maar een of twee van hulle het uitgedrop.

A: Ja en soos dan-dan bly hulle vir twee-drie weke weg dan kom hulle weer terug. En jy-jy partykeer het – kon – jy kon ongemaklik voel want...soos ons almal het saam gebegin en ons het vertrou in mekaar soos – like sê maar jy bly weg dan is daar altyd iets wat jy gemis

het so jy – jy kan nie sê jy - jy voel dieselfde oor dit wat ons nou praat nie want jy was vir twee weke nie daar gewees nie. Daai was die ding gewees.

S: Mmm so dit was nie – nie so great nie. Ok. Daar's antie Mel weer...(laughing)... Daarsy en daar's julle almal. Ek dink dit was die affirmation exercise ne?

A: Mmm, dit was Sondagoggend

S: Wat het julle daarso gedoen? Ons – ons het nie ingesit op daai sessie nie, so wat het julle daar gedoen?

A: Daar moes ons almal skryf oor wat ons van mekaar hou...ja. Dis al wat ons gedoen het.

S: Ok, en toe jy nou die goed lees wat die ander meisies geskryf het, hoe was dit vir jou?

A: Dit was iets anders want soos, like soos ek gesê het ook ons – ons almal soos...het nie eintlik...ons was nie vriende nie. En ons het sommer so daai bladsy van vriende geskip na waar ons susters vir mekaar beginne raak het en daai was iets anders.

S: Ja, ok. Daarsy, daai was die play wat julle moes doen... Weet nie hoe het dit gegaan nie.... Uhm... Daai was sommer net julle. Jy sal al die foto's kry (laughter). Hierdie was...

A: Daar by ietsie? gewees

S: Yes. Hoe was die ice skating vir jou?

A: Ek – ek het nie geskate nie.

S: Het jy nie gegaan nie? Ok.

A: Of nee, ek het, ek het geskate, maar nie lank nie.

S: Ok so jy was net 'n rukkie lank op die ys. Hoekom het jy nie geskate nie?

A: (laughs). Want ek was bang.

S: Ok... Die program het nogal baie goed gehad wat soos, selfs al is julle bang, (A: Mmm) het hy jou daar gesit en dan's hy soos 'ok maar'... (laughter). Hoe was dit om so baie kere gechallenge te word om...?

A: Dit was – dit was iets anders want, joh, hulle het mens baie gechallenge but jy-jy – Daar's altyd iets wat jy uit dit uit moet ge-geleer het.

S: Mmm. Wat dink jy het jy geleer?

A: Dit was – dit was basies baie goed wat challenging was but is net die-die-die vraag – die ding is, het jy die vermoë om dit te doen. Dit te begin en te eindig. Daai is die ding.

S: Mmm, ok. Dis 'n goeie opsomming. Ok. Daai was toe nou by die laaste kamp, toe Lourens die ietsie? gedoen het. Wat, Captain's Coming? Daai game... Dis nie Lourens nie, dis Joshua daai. Lourens is bietjie maerder. (lag).

A: Gaan gou weer terug daai foto toe. Kyk hierso.

S: O, hy het gespring nou. Toe't julle die – die – die uhm dressing competition gehad... Daarsy en daai was die two-legged race – three-legged race. Ja... Wat was daai?

A: Ons moet in – iets ingevul het.

S: Kan jy onthou?

A: O om jou mentor te sien

S: Oh ah ok. Maar toe't dit nou nog nie intussen gerealise nie. Ok en toe het julle die bote gemaak (A: lag) Die bote wat nie geboot het nie...Daarsy. Is daai, wat's haar naam nou weer?

A: Karen.

S: O, is dit Karen? Maar daar was mos – Karen was oorsee op ‘n stadium of wat was die storie?

A: Ja met la – met die...

S: Met die eerste kamp?

A: Met die eerste kamp.

S: Dis hoekom ek haar nooit ontmoet het nie. Is dit haar sussietjie?

A: Mmm, nee haar niggie.

S: O, ok....Daarsy, ag shame hier’s Zeldine... Wil nie hê dit moet verby wees nie. En daarso is nou die hele groep... Jenna lyk so bietjie soos ‘n eend. Kyk hoe trek sy haar mond.

A: Kan ons nie nou die foto’s kry nie? (laughing)

S: Nee, jy moet na die laaste sessie toe ... Jy moet nou gaan en dan sê jy vir al die girls al hierdie foto’s is flippen nice. Julle moet na daai sessie toe kom. Hierdie was nou die dag na die uhm career storie, toe’t ons hulle na die bib toe gevat en ons het... So dis die biblioteek, hy’s net hier anderkant. En ons het ‘n paar speletjies gespeel daarso in die personeelkamer en ons het – ons het so geplak op hulle kop en dan moet jy mime die werk. Ja... En daai was binne in die biblioteek... En toe’t ons pizza geëet na die tyd... En daar’s ons by die einde. (A: lag). Daarsy. Maar ja, ek gaan hierdie vir julle op ‘n DVD sit en dan sal julle dit kry by die laaste. Dit sal seker na die vakansie wees wat ons weer met julle gaan meet. Maar ja, is daar enigiets anders wat jy nog wil sê? Wat jy vir USIKO wil sê of wat jy vir my wil sê voor ons nou afsluit?

A: USIKO het baie-baie in my lewe...baie goed kom verander en dat soos al wat ek sal sê is dat – Ok dis nou – die tydjie is baie kort saam met hulle but hulle moet nooit ophou doen wat hulle doen nie want dit het my lewe verander en dit kan baie meisies se lewens verander...ja.

S: Ok, Ok. Ekke kan definitief daai boodskap oordra, dankie Anthea.

APPENDIX J

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